

The Nation

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The Week

DURING the past few days there has been apparent an effort to spread abroad a feeling of encouragement concerning the work of the Peace Conference. With little upon which to base our hope, we are bidden to be hopeful. The Big Four are said to be in agreement. Apparently, so far as one can read content into the emptiness of the press accounts, any agreement that has been reached is over the prostrate remnants of the Fourteen Points. The Saar Valley, we are told, is to go to France "in perpetuity" under some complicated system of international political control. Reparation measures are apparently being framed to meet the demands of Christabel Pankhurst rather than of President Wilson. The treaty, it has been stated, will be ready for signing by April 25. Meanwhile, out of Germany has come not a single assurance that Germany will sign the peace of coercion that is being prepared. To sign would mean, in theory, a period of hopeless years of trying to pay, the yielding of German soil and thousands of German citizens, and a humiliating position as handmaid to the League of Nations. To sign would mean, in fact, something quite different; it would mean the collapse of the Government, the swift rise to power of the outraged people. Will refusal to sign appear more dangerous or hopeless to the ruling powers in Germany than this other outcome? Between an unsatisfied and vengeful enemy without and a hungry and infuriated people within, the German Government has a hard choice before it. The Big Four may be agreeing—with themselves. But a strange fatalism that seems to have afflicted every one at Paris apparently blinds the members of the Conference to the operation of other forces with which they must work in harmony or ultimately be swept out of the way.

IT may be safe to assume that the nationalist tremors that have lately been agitating certain Senators in regard to the future sovereignty and proud isolation of the United States will be laid at rest by the recent cabled revisions to the League of Nations covenant. As finally amended, save only for the "technical task" of bringing various texts into accord, the League of Nations presents a comforting subject for national pride and suspicion to contemplate. No nation is compromised or threatened by an endorsement of "the principle of equality of nations and just treatment of their nationals." The Monroe Doctrine is specifically and internationally recognized and its authority admitted. Recommendations for a general reduction of armaments will be suggested by the Council of the League, and accepted or rejected by the individual members as they may see fit. Finally, as regards all matters "of international interest or threatening the peace of the world," a unanimous vote in both the Council and the Assembly of the League is required for any decision. Press dispatches from Washington report that this provision is being "discussed with interest." "This change," says a recent dispatch, "apparently was intended to make it clear that no nation surrendered

its sovereignty or right of individual action through membership in the League." The point is made amply clear. With this simple requirement of unanimity among all nations, including those involved in a dispute, other articles of the covenant providing for arbitration and adjudication of questions of international controversy seem hardly necessary.

THE Reparation Committee of the Peace Conference, commonly referred to as the Committee on How Much Germany Can Pay, completed its deliberations some time ago. Its report must have been the expression rather of a pious hope than of an economic verity. Indemnity pledges had been given to the British and French peoples, and the task of the committee was to find the indemnities. Thus it was forced to blind its eyes to the truth of the economic situation, and juggle with figures in the hope of turning up a lucky number. No statesman in Paris dared to open the forbidden door behind which grinned the skeleton. There must have been solemn and profound discussions at the Peace Conference over the topic, How Much We Wish Germany Could Pay. Then Hungary crashed, the Peace Conference passed into the hands of the Big Four, and at length the Big Four have come to a decision in the matter. Germany, we are told, is to pay five billions down, twenty-five billions all told, to be assessed by an inter-Allied commission during a period of thirty years. This proposal, of course, hits at the heart of German trade, the real bull's-eye at which the Allies are aiming. Its execution would rob Germany of any shadow of economic self-determination, and put 70,000,000 people to work as slaves for the Allies and America. It is neither moral nor economic. On the face of it, it cannot be put into effect. No German Government which agreed to such a proposal could endure for a day. But our statesmen either will not or can not see. Lloyd George telegraphs lightly to England that he will uphold all his campaign pledges. President Wilson apparently assents, regardless of the fatal compromise. And now at last we are permitted to view the whole weakness of the position of these statesmen; for it begins to be mentioned in the news from Paris that the imposition of this indemnity upon Germany will necessitate repudiation by the German Government of its own internal debt. What have we here but imperialistic Bolshevism? The structure of capitalistic society is to be knocked down in one quarter in order that it may be sustained in another. There are not bricks enough to go around. Have our statesmen lost both their logic and their sense of humor? They have never dealt in facts; but this is dealing in absurdities. And, to add the crowning absurdity, Germany, while they deliberate, is passing through the throes of fundamental economic revolution. Before they know it, the bird of indemnity, changed into a Bolshevik, will have flown away.

THOSE who were skeptical of the significance of the by-election at West Leyton last month, and who were inclined to attribute the Liberal victory there to the negligence of the Government, had a stronger argument to an-

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swer last week in the result of the contest in Central Hull. The Government's candidate was again defeated, and a large Unionist majority of December turned into a slender Liberal majority. Sir Mark Sykes, the Unionist candidate in December, won by a majority of 10,371. Last week the Unionist candidate, Lord Eustace Percy, was defeated by Commander Kenworthy, Liberal, by a vote of 8,616 to 7,699. This means a turnover of more than 10,000 votes in four months' time. The two chief issues on which Commander Kenworthy won his victory were "No conscription" and "No further military measures against Russia." As is quite natural, both the Liberals and the Tories have their satisfactory explanations. The Tories see in this sharp change of front on the part of the constituency of Central Hull an extreme dissatisfaction with the liberal tendencies which Lloyd George has evinced in Paris. England, say the Tories, demands that the Government fulfil its campaign pledges; that it punish the Kaiser, exact the full costs of the war from Germany, and mete out "justice" in full measure. The Liberals, on the other hand, take great encouragement from the results of the contest at Central Hull, on the score of their faith in the inherent soundness and decency of British public opinion. The *Daily News* sees in the election a definite pronouncement against conscription and militarism. It is felt in liberal circles that the country is turning against the practice of carrying the methods of the war Administration over into the era of peace. Faced by such a direct challenge, it will be extremely interesting to watch the tactics of the Premier when he appears fresh from Paris in the House this week. The situation will tax his well-known adroitness and opportunism.

THE Canadian Government, which has been ruling through Orders in Council until the legislative functions of Parliament have largely ceased to operate, has read the signs of the times, and proposes to deal with Bolshevism and labor unrest generally not by force, but by persuasion and agreement. On April 2 Mr. G. D. Robertson, the Minister of Labor, announced the purpose of the Government to appoint a commission of five or seven men, representing capital and labor, "to proceed to all centres of industry in the Dominion, survey the situation in all its aspects, ascertain all the facts, and report to the Government before May 15 upon the possibility of the joint control and operation of certain industries" by employers and employees. The so-called Lemieux Act of 1907, for the settlement of strikes and industrial disputes, is now to be supplemented by an arrangement under which, it is hoped, disputes and strikes will be prevented. The step, epoch-making as it is so far as the Canadian Government is concerned, is supported by encouraging conditions in industry itself. The Imperial Oil Company, the Canadian Shoe Manufacturing Company, and the Toronto Builders' League have already, Mr. Robertson pointed out, established industrial councils; representatives of Canadian shipbuilders have lately been at Ottawa negotiating with representatives of labor for the adjustment of differences and the establishment of a uniform wage scale; the western miners and mine operators have just settled a serious dispute at the capital; and within a few days an agreement has been reached with the Nova Scotia miners which assures, it is believed, the steady continuance of coal mining in that province throughout the remainder of the present year. The brief time allotted to the work of the commission is doubtless indicative of the urgency which the Government feels, and can hardly result in the production

of an exhaustive report on Canadian industrial conditions; but no elaborate report is really necessary, and the Whitley report in England, whose influence Mr. Robertson frankly acknowledges, is available for guidance. One wonders how long it will be before the Administration at Washington gets around to an equally sensible method of dealing with industrial discontent in this country.

THE appeal of the Philippine Independence Mission is in accord with the best American tradition, and its reception by Secretary Baker does honor to our Government. Only twenty years ago we were engaged in making a cruel and barbarous war on the Filipinos. Today a delegation of forty leading citizens of the islands, headed by Manuel Quezon, president of the Filipino Senate, and supported by the entire authority of the Insular Government, presents a dignified memorial asking for complete independence; and the Secretary of War, speaking for the people of the United States, the President, and himself, declares: "The time has substantially come, if not quite come, when the Philippine Islands can be allowed to sever the mere formal political tie remaining, and become an independent people." These words will awaken an approving echo throughout the country, and as the members of the mission go about, with the full approval of our Government, explaining the purpose of their journey, they will meet with a hearty welcome everywhere. What is going on in the islands is, in our judgment, what is desired by the great body of Americans—"not an Americanization of the islands, but the growth of a Philippine civilization. It is normal that people should desire to be free and independent." We do not forget that the actual grant of independence must be made by the Congress, nor do we forget that there are strong forces still at work to prevent the execution of this measure of elementary justice; but we are confident that Secretary Baker spoke for the great body of the American people in saying that our pride in the Philippine Islands will increase, rather than diminish, when they cease to be our political possession and become our political sister in the sisterhood of nations.

WE trust that when the time comes for the Congress to act, the people will make their representatives understand that no paltering with the issue of Philippine independence is desired. The reappearance of the Japanese bogy in Mexico should put us on our guard against the gentlemen who will adjure us not to let the Philippines fall a prey to the imperialists of Tokio. Japanese experience in Formosa is by no means favorable to the notion of Japanese colonization in warm climates, and in any case Japan seems at present to be looking in another direction. Moreover, if there is any sincerity in current talk of the rights of small nations, some international guarantee of independence for the Philippines ought not to be impossible to secure. Meanwhile, the news of the death of an American officer "in the service" in Haiti serves to remind us that there are other lands, less distant and less happy than the Philippines, held in subjection by American arms despite the vigorous protests of many of their inhabitants. There cannot be even a pretence of popular sanction for the action of the Administration in Haiti and Santo Domingo; for our people have never been informed what has been and is being done there by the naval and military officers who rule in our name. The story of Nicaragua is a closed book to us; most of us have already forgotten that we wrecked the Central

American Court of Justice. Porto Rico cries out against the appropriation of its land and the exploitation of its labor under the American flag. While we are being reminded of the Filipinos' desire for independence, accordingly, we should do well to remind ourselves of the peoples of the Caribbean region who are the victims of American imperialism, and make ready to vindicate our good faith and our belief in American tradition by giving them independence, and preparing to act as a good neighbor, and not as a master.

THE Reconstruction Commission appointed by the Governor of New York, because of the failure of the Legislature to provide it with funds, is being privately financed. It has already commended itself to the people of the State by recommending the repeal of the odious Slater law for the military training of boys between the ages of sixteen and eighteen. The Commission has no power—it can only advise—but if it continues its good work it will earn the right to its name. During the past week it has been hearing the case for coöperation, which, as Dr. James P. Warbasse defined it, is based on the idea that “people get along better working together than working against each other.” The coöperative distributing societies of Great Britain did a business last year of over one billion dollars. One-third of the population of Britain, and more than half the people of Denmark and of Switzerland by the necessities of life through such organizations. Yet it is an interesting fact that the movement in this country, which has already assumed no mean proportions, is rarely mentioned in our newspapers. The exposition before the Commission of the case for coöperation makes interesting reading. It was stated that cheese is being sold in New York by coöperating farmers for five cents a pound. In the winter of 1917, when the world was facing famine, and food commissions and other agencies were trying to stimulate production, the farmers of Maine, it has been said, sold their potato crop to New York jobbers—and the potatoes stayed in the ground to rot, because the jobbers could make more money through a fictitious scarcity than through an actual abundance. We are becoming increasingly conscious of the inefficiency of our marketing arrangements, and it is to be hoped that the recommendations of the Commission may help point the way to effective methods of handling the necessities of life as they pass from the farm and market garden to the market basket and the kitchen.

NOTHING daunted by the results of the Chicago municipal elections of two weeks ago, the forces behind the Labor party of Cook County have immediately begun to extend the range of their activities. On the 12th of April the Labor party of Illinois was launched at Springfield, and a programme of radical reform was adopted by the convention. Among the economic and social issues taken up in this programme may be mentioned the following: Democratic control of industry and commerce, and the elimination of autocratic domination of the forces of production and distribution; freedom from economic hazard, which comes with a minimum wage based upon the cost of living and the right of the worker to maintain his family in health and comfort; equality of men and women in government and industry, with complete enfranchisement of women, and equal pay for men and women doing similar work; reduction of the cost of living to a just level by the

development of coöperation and the elimination of wasteful methods, middlemen, and all profiteering in the creation and distribution of products; taxation of land values, but not of improvements; public ownership and operation of all public utilities, including grain elevators, warehouses, stockyards, abattoirs, insurance companies, and banks; public ownership of mines; a democratic system of public education; complete restoration at the earliest possible moment of all fundamental political rights—free speech, free press, and free assemblage—and the liberation of all persons held in prison or indicted under charges due to their championship of the rights of labor or their patriotic insistence upon the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution. From this brief summary there can be no doubt as to the state of mind of the forces represented by the new political trend of American labor. While the old parties live in the past, and wrangle over dead issues, labor is facing the future and struggling to put into expression the living and vital issues of the new world. Those who are relying too much upon the political inertia of the country have not sufficiently reckoned with the economic factors which are to dominate the next few years of our lives.

IT is proposed to abolish the Fortifications of Paris—“ce mur murant Paris murmurant,” as some wag put it at the time of their establishment by Louis-Philippe. Modern artillery has rendered them useless for purposes of defence, but, as oases in a city sadly lacking in breathing spots, the familiar *fortifs* still serve a useful end. Paris has been singularly reckless in her treatment of such parks and gardens as have, from time to time, fallen into her possession or control. A glaring instance was that of the grounds of the suppressed religious houses, which might easily have been saved from the fate that overtook them. Even now there is talk of prolonging the Rue de Rennes at the expense of several open spaces, while with regard to the Fortifications themselves, disquieting suggestions have already been mooted—university buildings, an exposition hall, model tenements, and the like. The only acceptable solution is that there shall be no building at all, and this in spite of the pressure of the present *crise de logement*. The whole site, to the last square foot, should be converted into pleasure grounds for the people.

TWO reforms at present pending in England are of more than usual interest, affecting, as they do, such ancient strongholds of conservatism as the University of Cambridge and the Law Courts. At Cambridge it is proposed actually to confer degrees on women who have qualified for them by examination and residence. This, though a simple act of justice and eminently desirable as clearing up an anomalous state of affairs, involves no really revolutionary change. Women have long taken the same examinations as men, and have appeared side by side with them in the class-lists. The most important effect of the reform will be that women will become members of the university, instead of merely belonging to affiliated colleges. The matter of the Law Courts is more complicated, since the question of the admission of women to practice does not lie entirely with the courts. The Inns of Court—unincorporated societies, independent of the state, and outside the jurisdiction of the courts—still have the exclusive privilege of “calling to the bar,” and, in case of opposition on their part, there would be no machinery to insure that the disability should cease, even after Parliament had formally abolished it.

The Higher Law

EUGENE VICTOR DEBS has gone to jail in a cause as old as time and as noble as human nature—the cause of the fundamental rights of man. Against the arbitrary law which jailed him, he stands as the defender of the intrinsic law. The hearts of true and independent men everywhere follow him with thankfulness as he goes to his high office; and not the least in loyalty among them are those who in varying measure have often opposed his special doctrine. A great man always is generous. And when a great man is wronged, the innate generosity of peoples flows out to him in no uncertain measure. Debs in his cell is well aware how broad this feeling is, and what it means. He needs no encouragement. He is freer there than those he has left behind. He is more at peace, for he has fulfilled his task. He has remained true to his convictions, and has done all that one man can do.

One wonders more and more at the failure of mankind to learn the lesson of truth from century to century. It is such an old and simple lesson—the lesson of the intrinsic law. What was Debs jailed for? To stop the spread of his doctrine? That end, obviously, will not be accomplished. The spread of his doctrine can be stopped only by arguments and ideas. On the score of its own objective, the arbitrary law is its own worst enemy. It definitely retards the principle for which it was enacted, and forwards the principle against which it is brought into play. At certain periods in the world's history, the arbitrary and the intrinsic law tend to swing further and further apart, until they bear little relation to each other; the result is natural revolution, the flying together of the two laws again. We are now coming to such a period. Those who have the power of the arbitrary law say: This shall be done. They have forgotten that it will not be done unless it conforms also to the intrinsic law. The Supreme Court did not make Debs change his mind, retrace his course, or abandon a single one of his ideas. These ideas, if they lie nearer than the law of the Supreme Court to the intrinsic law of truth, will overturn the Supreme Court itself in their own time; and nothing in heaven or earth will stop the process. Least of all will the exercise of the arbitrary law stop it; instead, it will greatly accelerate it; yet the arbitrary law will be called upon more and more as the natural revolution draws near. The rulers of men seem overcome with their own perversity. They have learned no faith from life, no wisdom from the ages, no humility from place and power.

A man who has led a life of great courage and virtue, who has consistently championed the cause of the weak and the oppressed, who has gained the love of multitudes and the universal respect of his opponents, whose simple integrity and sweet nobility have carried his name to far places and to high regard—this man is jailed for ten years on the score of outspoken opposition to war. To the intrinsic law of truth, this is sheer absurdity; and every honest man so recognizes it. It is possible only under the technicalities of the arbitrary law. Abraham Lincoln, were he alive, would have cut through the arbitrary law. But in these times we are ruled by arbitrary legalists. The human element has been lost sight of; and, most disastrous of all, it has been forgotten that the human element is the only true basis of government and society. That element, however, cannot be denied too long. The only thing that is certain in a world

of mutation is the final reassertion of the human element.

"These are pregnant and promising days," said Debs, as he entered the prison doors. "We are all on the threshold of tremendous changes. The workers of the world are awakening and bestirring themselves as never before. All the forces that are playing upon the modern world are making for the overthrow of despotism in all its forms and for the emancipation of the masses of mankind. I shall be in prison in the days to come, but my revolutionary spirit will be abroad, and I shall not be inactive. Let us all in the supreme hour measure up to our full stature and work together as one for the cause that means emancipation for us all." These are the words of simple greatness. We may believe or not in the underlying doctrine; we cannot fail to honor and to believe in the man.

Where Do We Stand in Mexico?

IT was announced in a press dispatch from Washington last week that the British Government had purchased or taken over the interests of its nationals in Mexico involved in the oil controversy. The announcement, while not made officially, was carried in an evidently inspired dispatch in all the newspapers, which stated that the news had been "confirmed in official advices." The State Department was reported to be "much interested because of the apparent establishment by Great Britain of a new policy of outright Government ownership of oil properties." This action, it was hinted, had been taken in anticipation of the meeting of the new Mexican Congress which is to be convened on May 1; and the statement went on to remind us that "these are the properties involved in the dispute that led to the dispatch by the British, French, and United States of protests against the confiscatory features of the Mexican Constitution." The action was further said to indicate that "Great Britain did not intend that the property acquired by British subjects in good faith, and under the laws of Mexico at the time, should be confiscated." The statement concluded as follows: "The British now own about twenty per cent. of the proved oil-producing properties of Mexico, including the Cowdray and Dutch-Shell interests, recent acquisitions."

It is needless to point out the primary importance of this item of news, which appeared in an obscure column of the newspapers and has received, so far as we have observed, no editorial comment whatever in the American press. Yet the taking over by a foreign Government of actual ownership of the properties of its nationals in Mexico would constitute a precedent so remarkable in its intention and so far-reaching in its consequences as to deserve at least passing notice. If the British Government has really taken action in this matter without the knowledge of the State Department, the State Department has reason to be "much interested." What would happen, we wonder, if the Japanese Government were to take similar action with respect to properties of its nationals in Lower California? How much publicity would such news obtain, and how well would the American public be informed as to its bearings and ramifications? We even protest at the acquisition by Japanese nationals of property in Lower California. On the other hand, if this alleged action of the British Government

in Mexico has been taken with the knowledge of the State Department, it is tantamount to an Anglo-American alliance involving, apparently, most threatening possibilities for the Carranza Government. From this analysis of the situation there would seem to be no escape. Either alternative would demand an explanation from the State Department. Is the United States to permit without protest the taking over by a foreign Government of actual title to vast oil holdings in Mexico? But of course we know very well that the British Government has taken no such a step without the knowledge of the American Government. Is the State Department, then, to commit the United States to an Anglo-American alliance in support of foreign oil interests, as opposed to the interests of the Mexican people, without first informing the country and inquiring as to the state of public opinion on the issue? That way danger lies.

In view of the importance of the situation and the general obscurity which surrounds it, we feel it to be well within the right of the American people to call for a statement of the Government's policy toward Mexico. Does the American Government approve of the alleged action of the British Government in taking over title to the oil-holdings of its nationals in Mexico; and, if so, on what basis of principle? Would the American Government favor similar action with respect to the holdings of its own nationals in Mexico? The British Government apparently has established the principle of forcible nationalization of its properties abroad, while opposing the nationalization of similar properties at home. Is the American Government in any way committed to this principle, by either tacit or outright agreement, with its application to the oil fields in Mexico? Would it be possible for the American Government to elicit from the British Government an official public statement as to the details of its action with respect to the taking over of Mexican holdings, so that we may be informed authoritatively of the nature of the alleged transaction and know exactly where we stand?

The *Nation's* editorial of last week, forecasting American intervention in Mexico and pointing out a chain of interests and circumstances which were forwarding that result, drew forth denials of complicity in the project from both the Association of Oil Producers in Mexico and the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico. We made no accusations, for such a course lands on the shores of fruitless controversy. It is a system which is at work, the powerful system of financial exploitation; we merely called attention to a few demonstrable facts in the progress of the Juggernaut. It is beyond question, for instance, that E. L. Doheny, president of the Mexican Petroleum Company, went abroad some months ago as one of the representatives of the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico, the powerful banking group among whom are J. P. Morgan & Co., the Guaranty Trust Company, the First National Bank, and the National City Bank. Mr. Doheny spoke officially for the National Association before leaving New York; yet when, in Halifax on the way over, he said that he was going to Paris to pull off an oil deal, the State Department felt called upon to protest, and the interview had to be repudiated. Vice-President Sisson, of the Guaranty Trust Company, is prepared to advocate "an international law of eminent domain in which the interests of society as a whole would have precedence over any integral part thereof"; *ergo*, it is for us to avail ourselves of the natural resources of Mexico.

Further discussion is superfluous. The most powerful

banking groups in the world have organized themselves to protect the rights of foreign investors in Mexico. To these gentlemen the protection of foreign rights means the protection of foreign concessions; they are of one mind on the subject, and have never professed any other view. This view is well exemplified by a quotation from the statement issued by the Association of Oil Producers in answer to our editorial, and published in our correspondence column:

"A few American periodicals, including the *Nation*, have aligned themselves on the side of the Carranza Government, and therefore in opposition to their own. . . . The Carranza Government will not insist upon its plan of confiscation if it is convinced that foreign nations will insist upon the observance by Mexico of the precedents of international law. The only certain way to bring about intervention is to create in this country a divided opinion as to the propriety of the Mexican programme of confiscation, which will encourage the Mexicans to try to put it into effect."

If the news of the week is authentic, the British Government has now taken up the claims of these gentlemen, and the conclusion is unavoidable that the American Government stands in the same position. In fact, the State Department is already committed to the protection of foreign rights in Mexico, as opposed to the policy of the Carranza Government; although the question of actual holdings in Mexico by a foreign Government raises a new and acute issue. It stands to reason, then, that any movement in Mexico dedicated to the maintenance of foreign rights and concessions, such as the Blanquet-Diaz revolution, is only too likely to meet with the support of all these forces. No one would be so foolish as to claim or to attempt to prove that J. P. Morgan & Co., the Association of Oil Producers in Mexico, or the National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico, were running the Blanquet-Diaz revolution. But common objectives induce a community of interests and a parallelism of efforts. It is idle to argue against the wind.

We wish now merely to indicate a further succession of events all pointing in the same direction, and to reiterate our belief that American intervention in Mexico may soon be brought about by apparently natural circumstances. Preceding the announcement of last week that the British Government had taken over the holdings of its nationals in Mexico, it was announced that the Cunard Company planned to build twenty-nine new transatlantic liners, and that these big boats were all to be oil-driven. "With the Russian and Rumanian oil fields temporarily closed, and nine-tenths of the British oil supply coming from Mexico," says the statement, "British interests are trying to secure American-owned Mexican oil fields by long-term contracts at huge figures." This lends point to the statement of the following day that "Great Britain is trying to obtain all the available oil-producing lands throughout the world to insure cheap fuel for her navy and commercial vessels." A few days later it was announced that J. P. Morgan & Co. and other American financial interests had joined with certain Japanese capitalists to promote a new American-Japanese steamship corporation, and that America would invest \$200,000,000 in the enterprise.

As for intervention itself, it will not come about by crude or open means. The Carranza Government is trembling today before the vast array of force that is gathering against it. There is reason to fear that the Congress of May first has been called mainly for the purpose of making concessions to the inevitable. The concessions which will be demanded, at the point of the gun, as it were, will

amount to a denial of the principles of the new Constitution and a return to the principles of the Diaz régime. If the Carranza Government fails to maintain those principles in which the Mexican people today believe, the Mexican people will repudiate the Carranza Government. This will be called a Bolshevik revolution; and the United States will be under obligations to God and the League of Nations to go into Mexico and establish "law and order." We throw this out merely as a single possibility. There are more ways than one by which intervention may come.

Fag-Ends of Russian Policy

NEWS of the revolt of American troops at Archangel comes like a sudden squall to fray out still farther the fag-ends of our Russian policy. American boys who went abroad to fight for democracy have discovered the meaning of the situation. They say that the war with Germany is over, that we are not at war with Russia (a statement in which the Department of Justice supports them), and that they do not want to fight against Russians any more. Their officers sympathize with this point of view. The jig indeed is up; and the whole house of cards that has been built against Soviet Russia by official propaganda and private prejudice tumbles to the ground before such a sane and sincere and natural action. The soldiers are tired of supporting diplomatic errors; they cannot whip up a hatred of the people in Russia; they want to come home to their own folks. So low has the liberalism of President Wilson fallen that he has driven his policies to this inglorious *dénouement*, this final tragic absurdity. For President Wilson knew better. He knew better in August of 1918, when he consented to participate in intervention in Russia. He knew better long before, from the first days of the Bolshevik revolution. But, perhaps because of a psychological obsession, and perhaps because of political conditions and purposes that lie hidden to this day, he would not listen or act. To his shame and ours be it said, our own Government gave its backing to the propaganda of falsehood against Soviet Russia. Once made, the error in policy had to be supported; and the power to give such support lay in the hands of an irresponsible bureaucracy. Messrs. Lansing and Creel and Sisson were given free rein, and the country was sadly misinformed. The Administration never has been above-board in its attitude toward Russia, it never has been sincerely willing to face the facts. Now, after months have passed and bitter wrong has been done, after American lives have been sacrificed and Russia has been plunged yet deeper into misery and starvation, we have got no farther forward than this, that our boys in Archangel revolt against the nasty job.

The full story of this incident, as given in the newspapers on successive days after the event, deserves frank and discriminating consideration. According to the press, of course, the Bolsheviks, with their shameless and insidious propaganda, are wholly responsible. One of our jingo sheets is so charmingly naïve as to attribute the whole difficulty to a "single agitator in Company I," and goes on to remark with great perspicacity: "It is almost certain that he will prove to be a man with Bolshevik tendencies, and no doubt he will be severely punished." Let those be satisfied thus easily who may; we feel that the situation carries a deeper significance. It is mentioned at some length in the dis-

patches that the arguments advanced by the men were noticeably based upon the Bolshevik vernacular. We have not seen it satisfactorily explained how this vernacular took root. Of course the Bolsheviks are to blame; but why did their propaganda have effect? Can it be that our soldiers in Archangel are doing a bit of political and social thinking? It is a dangerous situation. If these boys were immediately to come home they would raise no end of trouble, with their story of the winter and their new ideas. They probably will have to be segregated or carefully scattered, as were the German troops from the eastern front in the summer of 1918.

The present manifestation in Archangel is neither temporary nor sporadic. It has been going on all winter. Three months ago a prominent man in Washington stated to us that he had just been talking with an officer recently returned from northern Russia. This officer had related many instances of protest and revolt similar to that of which the public has now learned through official channels. "But isn't that mutiny? What do you do about it?" the officer was asked. "Oh, we are in agreement with the men," he answered with a laugh. "We patch it up on that score. No one wants to fight the Bolsheviks, and the Bolsheviks don't want to fight us. It's nothing but a tragic farce." All of which brings us to the fundamental question: Where is America going, in pursuit of such policies, and what sort of country has she become?

In the meanwhile the jingo crew, feeling themselves out-pointed by simple truth and logic, are ringing the changes on emotionalism and war psychology. An advance guard of British, American, and Italian volunteers is being rushed from England to the assistance of the "hard-pressed troops at Archangel and Murmansk." These men are all veterans—"splendid war-toughened men." One easily visualizes them—a force of volunteer adventurers and imperialistic gunmen, who go to Russia to slay, to suppress, and to commit all the lawful atrocities of traditional invasion. The Soviet forces will be stung into further action by the assaults of these "spirited crusaders." There will be casualties; the sentiment at home will react to the sending of more men; and thus the snowball will grow. And all because there was an original error in policy, and because the men who made it are not brave or true or humble enough to confess their sin.

Meantime, too, the fag-ends of Russian policy dangle aloft, snapping and fraying in every breeze. President Wilson sends a secret mission to Russia to find out what he has known perfectly well for the last eighteen months; and still he cannot bring himself to take action upon the report of this mission. Failing to result in action, the incident is seized upon by a Tory House of Commons, and becomes capital against President Wilson and Premier Lloyd George. Mr. Hoover, perennial believer in the efficacy of biscuits against Bolshevism, advances a plan for feeding Russia which meets with unanimous favor; anxious eyes turn eagerly toward him in deep relief; whereupon someone points out that in order to feed Russia it is necessary first to take political action with respect to the Soviet Government—and all fall silent again, looking out of the window. Mr. Shortt, Secretary for Home Affairs, rises in the House of Commons to give vent to this profound observation: "When it comes to the mere gang of bloodthirsty ruffians who are terrorizing the population of Russia, we can have no truck with such men. We are entitled to tell the Russian

people we will have nothing to do with a Government which is a danger to civilization." The *New Europe*, until lately one of our sanest journals, borrowing the formula adopted by the *Nation* in our "Is It True" editorial of some months ago, asks wildly: "Is it true that recognition of the Bolshevik Government is being actively pushed by certain international financiers in New York and London?"—and more on the same order. Mr. Lloyd George sends General Smuts to treat with Bela Kun—and no more dares tell us the result than President Wilson dares publish the Bullitt-Steffens report. In New York, Mr. Martens, the economic emissary from Soviet Russia, installs himself in a large uptown office, effects the organization of his staff, and issues a demand for the control of all properties now held under the defunct authority of the Kerensky régime. The Union League Club fills two columns of the newspapers with protest against his activities, based on the argument that "the armed forces of the United States are engaged in conflict with the armed forces of the Russian Soviet Republic," which statement appears on the same day that the press carries the news of the Archangel mutiny. In fact, there seems to be more than a little confusion over the Russian problem. The only direct and clean-cut policy in sight is that of Soviet Russia, which marches forward imponderably across the face of Europe while our statesmen sit in Paris twiddling their thumbs.

Facing the Facts

IN January last the Department of Labor sent to England a commission of six employers with instructions to report the "facts exactly as the commission finds these facts" on three points: the attitude of employers toward problems of labor; the views of the working classes and the attitude of the labor leaders; and the methods and plans of the Government to allay labor unrest. The report of this Employers' Industrial Commission has just appeared, and the commissioners declare:

What we have learned . . . proved in more than one respect a revelation to us. We believe it will be a revelation also to those at home, disclosing the promise, we think, of constructive coöperative relations which must result in good for all.

Underneath the seething unrest, as expressed in speeches and in newspapers, we found a remarkable harmony of purpose between Government officials, conservative employees, and practically all employers. These groups are today nearly a unit in urging:

First. The spirit of coöperation by recognizing and encouraging organizations of employers and employees; and

Second. The need of maintaining production, former ideas of restrictions on output having been discarded.

The Commission finds that "the relationship in Great Britain between employer and worker is clearly in a state of marked transition. This fact is recognized and accepted by all the country." It attributes the profound prevailing unrest in large part to "a feeling that the worker does not receive his proper share of the combined product of capital and labor"; and it enumerates, among other demands, security and a specified minimum standard of living, and "considerate treatment," as well as adequate wages, short hours, and a "voice in management"—a term which, as the chairman very pertinently points out, has an indefinite variety of meanings.

The breaking away of the rank and file from the old-line union leaders is noted, of course, and the rise of the shop stewards, among whom are "the young men of radical temperament and with extremely brief and limited experience in responsibility. They are the ones who are propounding the theories about a new state of society, and among them are the radicals who would eliminate the profit system." Opposed to this radical group are found the employers, the regular unions with their leaders, and the moderate shop committees which are not opposed to the profit system. Government officials and employers are agreed as to the desirability of shop committees in giving direct contact between employers and men, and declare that the problem is "how to get and keep shop committees and yet maintain them under the control of the larger labor organizations." The Whitley plan of industrial councils, proposed to this end, is warmly supported, the Commission found, by employers and by some of the higher union officials, but is not enthusiastically endorsed by "a large portion of the more radical among the minor labor-union officials and the workmen."

The Commission has not gone to the bottom of the British industrial situation; no one can do that without examining the ownership of British natural resources and industrial equipment. But it has sensed correctly the struggle there in process. The democratic yearning of labor cannot be satisfied by jacking up wages and screwing down hours through the old devices of craft unionism, even with Government coöperation. With whatever interruptions and postponements, the process of transferring actual power in industry from the men who own to the men who work is well under way in Great Britain. The exact steps of the process as it is to work out cannot be foretold, but the movement is a world-wide one, and the study of its progress in Great Britain cannot but be helpful in the United States. The wise employer will not fight the movement, but will study and coöperate with it instead, will inform and guide it with his own rich experience. It is in this spirit, we trust, that American industrial leaders will examine the report of the Employers' Industrial Commission.

The future of the United States, as of every advanced country, depends on the direction and force of the popular currents released by the war. Wise men today recognize this fact. Men of narrow vision, on the other hand, fail to see that mastership in the old sense has passed away. Still thinking of "safety" through force, through the suppression of opinion and discussion, these apostles of the nightstick and the machine gun raise the hateful cry of "Bolshevik" at every manifestation of independent thought and at every proposal for the attainment of social justice. Their power for mischief is enormous, for they can make the oncoming transition violent and catastrophic, whereas it should and can be orderly, peaceful, and legal. To the latter end we must study the present temper and action of the man who works, not only here, but abroad; for, as the last two years have demonstrated, ideas in the United States are affected by events even in far-away Russia, and ideas can be overcome only by other ideas, not by mere propaganda or by force; indeed, if correct, they cannot be overcome at all. The idea that the men who work, whether with head or hand, should and will have power to control their own life is correct. To discover and apply the methods of freeing them is the supreme task of industry and politics today.

Will Labor Lead?

By GEORGE P. WEST

WHETHER the labor movement is prepared to give leadership and direction to the country's democratic forces will become apparent in June when the American Federation of Labor holds its annual convention at Atlantic City. It is not a question of the sentiment of the rank and file. It is a question of organizing that sentiment and then breaking through the obstacles that prevent its free expression. The raising of these obstacles has been for years a major concern of Mr. Gompers and his lieutenants, and it has come to be looked upon as foolhardy to lay a lance against them. The convention is always boss-ridden by men who pride themselves on their perfectly running political machine. Worse still, the strongest and most promising men in the labor movement refuse to concern themselves with Federation politics. They let Mr. Gompers go his way while they go theirs. In consequence, the failure of an insurgent movement to make headway at Atlantic City would not mean stagnation in the labor movement. It would more probably mean that vitality was definitely departing from the Federation leadership, and flowing instead into local economic and political movements. These movements for the time being are sporadic and unrelated, but they must eventually form in the national field an orientation that will be the end of Gompersism.

Thus, the Atlantic City convention may vote against independent political action by labor—and city central bodies like the Chicago Federation of Labor and State federations like that of Illinois will go on forming Labor parties and seeking coöperation with organized farmers and organized "brain workers." It is improbable that the defection from Gompersism and Wilsonian Democracy can be stopped by anything that Mr. Gompers and Mr. Wilson can do, and least of all by their control of the Atlantic City convention, if that control should be established. Mr. Gompers can undoubtedly rely on all the help that the President and his more liberal associates in the Democratic party can give him. For the formation of independent Labor parties is even more an indictment of the President and his party than of Mr. Gompers, whose prestige with labor has come to depend almost entirely on that of Mr. Wilson. Practical politicians may laugh at the idea of laborites and liberals and organized farmers standing alone in a political group. They will not laugh at the result of the defection of these elements on the chances of Democratic success. We can be sure that Mr. Wilson's shrewdest advisers, and most of all Mr. Wilson himself, remember that organized labor carried California and the Presidency for him in 1916.

We have the word of Mr. Swope of the *New York World*, cabled from Paris, that the President intends to lay before Congress in June a "captivating" labor programme that "will put this country in the lead in solving the world's gravest problems." We can be sure that this gesture will be made in time to impress delegates to the labor convention at Atlantic City. It is to be doubted whether the putting out of such a programme at this time would have any other practical effect than the strengthening of Mr. Gompers's position and the weakening of the demand for a national Labor party. Surely Mr. Wilson does not expect favorable action on a liberal programme from the incoming Congress. His own power to

force through such a programme is gone, and he has no power to bind the Democratic National Convention of 1920 and its candidate for the Presidency.

Curiously enough, the Labor party movement within the Federation is less political, in the invidious meaning of the word, than the present Federation leadership. There is no thirst for public office among its leaders, and little taste for the indirections and compromise of politics. What the new leaders really want is a means of making labor's will effective in matters that transcend the routine of trade unionism—matters of foreign policy, of constitutional rights of free speech, and of fundamental economic reconstruction. In an age when the peoples of Europe are turning from parliamentarism to direct coöperative control of economic and industrial units, the insurgents of the American labor movement are not reactionaries with undue faith in the indirections of politics. I am sure that no one active in the insurgent movement is conscious of it, but it may well be that the Labor party movement is chiefly an unconscious and instinctive expedient for circumventing the control of Mr. Gompers and establishing a new agency of expression—an agency that would never have been thought of if the Federation machinery had functioned to the satisfaction of those whose mouthpiece and cutting edge it is supposed to be. It is amusing, in the light of facts, to listen to exhortations of arch-politicians like Messrs. Gompers, Morrison, and W. B. Wilson that labor would do better to stick to "economic" action, to direct union activities "on the job," when these pleas are directed by politicians to men whose zeal and success in "direct action" are their outstanding characteristics as labor leaders.

For today the most important industrial movements, or economic movements, as Mr. Gompers calls them, are entirely out of the hands of Mr. Gompers and his lieutenants. They are in the hands, significantly enough, of the very men whose excursion into Labor party politics Mr. Gompers denounces on the ground that it will divert the movement from "economic" action. They are in the hands of John Fitzpatrick and his associates of the Chicago Federation of Labor. It was they who organized 100,000 packing-house employees last year—a feat which involved the invasion of one of the great monopolized industries that had hitherto been union-proof. It was John Fitzpatrick who began the organizing of employees in the steel industry, after faint-hearted efforts, directed by Messrs. Gompers and Morrison through years on end, had left only a record of humiliating failure and a spreading conviction that the Federation chieftains felt safer and more comfortable to have these great bodies of men outside the pale. Yet the steel industry occupies a strategic position in the industrial field, and its opposition to collective bargaining has been at once the inspiration and the sanction and bulwark for all the other employers, big and little, who have done their large part in making American industry a battleground. Secretary Morrison thought he was doing well if he could keep his organizers off the pay rolls of the steel companies. And all the while Mr. Gompers was recognizing men like Frank Feeney of Philadelphia, founder and president of the small and unimportant Union of Elevator Constructors, but a power in politics,

an agent of the Penrose machine, a foe of democracy, named by Colonel Mulhall as a paid agent for the strike-breaking wing of the National Association of Manufacturers.

It was Fitzpatrick of Chicago who stepped into this situation a year ago and devised and forced the adoption of the first adequate plan for extending organization to the steel industry. Twenty-four national unions were brought together in the National Committee for Organizing Iron and Steel Workers. Mr. William Z. Foster of the Car Builders, who had aided in the packing-house campaign, became secretary of the committee, and opened his office in Pittsburgh after organizing 25,000 steel plant employees at South Chicago, Gary, and Joliet. **Mr. Gompers was named as chairman of the committee, but the driving power is Fitzpatrick.** It was Fitzpatrick who found time during his mayoralty campaign to make frequent trips to Pittsburgh and Washington to speed up the campaign by interviewing officials, talking at mass meetings, and encouraging the men on the ground. Secretary Morrison put in a somewhat belated appearance at later meetings, and Mr. Gompers has written a courteous letter to the Mayor of McKeesport urging that functionary to rescind his denial to the committee of a permit to hold a public meeting. This Pittsburgh organizing campaign is the most important enterprise undertaken by organized labor in the industrial field in a generation. Yet officials of the Federation not only did not initiate it, but they had to be dragooned into giving it aggressive support.

The absurdity of the claim that Mr. Gompers's policy is calculated to save labor from neglecting "economic" action and dissipating its resources in politics could be demonstrated by instance after instance. It is, for the most part, the plea of men who enjoy places of power and comfort in which they might be disturbed if the Federation became truly representative of American wage earners, or of Democratic politicians whose places depend upon the continuance of the present alliance between their party and organized labor. Around Mr. Gompers are trade-union politicians who control unions that have steadily shrunk in numbers and influence. The most notorious of these is Thomas Rickert, whose United Garment Workers have lost the men's clothing field to the well-managed and aggressive Amalgamated Clothing Workers, with Sidney Hillman at their head. Mr. Gompers strenuously opposes the Amalgamated at every turn, having even resented and protested the consideration shown to them as the predominant union in their field when the War Department was drawing up agreements to cover the making of uniforms. Mr. Hillman's organization, on the other hand, is today getting the hearty support of the Chicago Federation of Labor in its Chicago organizing campaign. It has under consideration just now a proposal to invade the textile industry, by admitting the 30,000 Lawrence strikers to membership, and it has already sent executive board members to Lawrence and voted money for the strike in that city. In this action it is exposing the weakness—the worse than weakness—of another union that enjoys Mr. Gompers's favor—the United Textile Workers. Its representation in the textile centres consists usually of a few hundred skilled American and Irish operatives, who look down from a great height on their Italian or Polish or Slavic fellows. The Lawrence strike has been denounced by officers of this union, who urged the workers to accept a proportionate wage reduction when their hours were reduced from nine to eight, although the great majority were already earning less than the minimum required under War Labor Board principles.

And some Federation influence it must have been that led Secretary Wilson to single out this eminently just strike as one of those which had for its object the overthrow of Government rather than the legitimate protection of the employees' interests.

It is not too much to say that already the leadership of the American labor movement, so far as it has any leadership, has passed from Mr. Gompers and his little group of ultra-conservatives at Washington. This is true no less in the so-called "economic" field than in the political field, where labor's broader aspirations must be fulfilled. Regardless of any failure by the Atlantic City convention, the labor movement almost everywhere is reaching toward coöperation with other liberal forces for the purpose of aggressive action in a broader field than it has ever essayed before. It is in this broader field that Mr. Gompers and President Wilson alike have failed. Mr. Wilson can no longer hold labor's support by whispering mysterious assurances to a few of its leaders, granting a few spectacular concessions, and for the rest standing behind men like Messrs. Burleson and Gregory. The time is past when labor will give politicians credit for merely recognizing that the unions are here to stay. They realize that they owe the triumph of the principle of collective bargaining to the exigencies of the war-time situation and to the lessons of British industry, and already the triumph appears to them too much a matter of course to call for gratitude. Moreover, as they study President Wilson, they wonder if his few concessions to them have been assertions of a democratic faith or a means of avoiding an inconvenient collision with their power. It will take more than the pardoning of Eugene Debs or the urging of a liberal programme on a hostile Congress to remove this doubt.

The Temper of British Labor

By LELAND OLDS

IN order to see the British industrial situation in its true perspective we must consider the labor movement in England with reference to its effect upon modern machine production. From this point of view there can be no doubt that it had been a real burden upon industry. Organized before the automatic machine began the reduction of all factory labor to a single semi-skilled level, the craft unions had for years been enforcing certain rules which held up the normal advance of modern machine production. The labor movement had, in fact, served to protect the skilled worker against this very levelling process; it had maintained him in what might be termed a privileged position. By the rules of these skilled-trade organizations the introduction of certain automatic machines was forbidden, modern efficiency methods were prohibited, a limit to the production of the individual worker was tacitly admitted, and certain processes were reserved for the skilled workers. In short, trade unionism in England aimed primarily at guaranteeing the skilled worker a position at fair terms against the competition of the unskilled worker as the mere tender of a high-speed automatic machine. Only in the great organizations composing the Triple Alliance could one find anything approaching industrial unionism.

But the English industrial situation prior to the war was

really an anachronism. High-speed modern industry was marching on, and the productivity of British labor was falling far behind that of such nations as Germany and the United States. The war, with its tremendous appetite for the products of great munitions plants, forced the issue. It offered the employing class a plausible excuse for bringing English industry up to date. Under the guise of patriotism the Employers' Association called upon the trade unions to surrender all the concessions which had been forced from employers by a generation of hard-driven bargains. Both sides knew that this would be a dangerous blow to the craft-union movement, that it would cause the skilled worker to sink back into the great sea of the unprivileged, and unprotected proletariat. As a result, the employers were unable to accomplish their purpose except through the agency of Government. The Committee on Production, appointed for this purpose, reported that the national emergency required the giving up by labor of its right to strike, of its right to oppose the introduction of the latest efficiency machines and methods, and of its right to maintain lines of demarcation between various groups of workers. The trade-union executives had agreed to co-operate with the Government in the conduct of the war; they were, therefore, bound to accept these conditions.

There was a semblance of voluntary sacrifice for the good of the nation in the Treasury Agreement of March, 1915; but the real objects were obtained by the Munitions Act, through which the conditions recommended by the Employers' Association, and later by the Committee on Production, were given the force of law. Violation of any of these new conditions became a penal offence, and special tribunals were constituted to try cases under the act; violation of factory rules likewise became a penal offence; and finally the right of the worker to move freely from one employer to another was curtailed. In short, the effectiveness of the old trade-union organization had been destroyed; the modern machine process with its nearly homogeneous proletariat was advancing. It is true that the Government promised the restoration of these privileges after the war; but only the blind failed to see that once British industry had been brought into line with the tendencies of world industry, it could not be turned back.

The employers had thus secured the right to press labor to the limit of production. Henceforth there would be but one class of general factory labor, machine tenders, to be used as instruments of the community. A great supply of such labor would exist after the war—a sure guarantee of cheap production. Other results were to follow; yet I have been able to find only a single voice raised at the time to give warning of these results. In the *Economist* of June 5, 1915, there is the following comment:

In some factories, where the managers are incompetent and are unable to get the best work out of their hands, . . . there is the masters' demand for compulsion. But employers who know the character of the English work people and of the trade unions know that the dangers of compulsion are very much greater than the difficulties which compulsion and bureaucratic interference are supposed to be going to cure. . . . By this means such voluntary organizations as the trade unions might be dealt a deadly blow, and instead of strikes and lockouts when masters and men fall out we shall have class movements and revolutionary movements by armed organizations.

This is a forecast of what is actually happening in England today. The change must have come inevitably

in the course of years, for the automatic machine will not be gainsaid. The day of the great machine proletariat is coming. But the war and the employers' war legislation have hastened the process in England. The Munitions Act, dubbed the "Slave Act" by British workers, marks not only the decline of British trade unionism, but also the beginning of new organization along industrial lines aiming more and more clearly at the conquest of industry by the workers. Hardly was the act signed before the miners struck in defiance of the law, and secured nationalization of the mines for the period of the war. Certain shipyard workers defied the "Slave Act" and went to prison. The threat of a general strike in the industry brought about their release, and the investigation which followed secured the elimination of the imprisonment clause in the act.

Meanwhile the shop committees had begun a new integration of labor. The shop steward had been a minor official of the craft organization, attending simply to petty adjustments between members of his craft and the shop foreman. But a committee of shop stewards ceased to be a craft organization, and a delegated works committee of these shop stewards represented many crafts in a given industry. Here was the nucleus of a new industrial organization. The workers no longer looked to the trade-union executives to attend to their interests. The Clyde strike in the spring of 1916 was organized and led by one of these new committees of shop stewards. Employers, trade-union executives, and the Government all recognized the menace, and presented a united front against this unauthorized movement. The new committee was arrested and deported. But labor was merely antagonized, and the new organization was copied widely throughout England.

In the spring of 1917, despite the demands of a critical military offensive, an important section of the munitions industry was tied up by a great strike led by this same organization of shop stewards. The strikers demanded the withdrawal and modification of the new Munitions Act; in other words, the strike was a political one. This time the trade-union leaders had no need to repudiate the strike; the rank and file through its new organization openly repudiated their leaders. The Government threatened drastic action and arrested the strike committee. But, the new organization was now far more complete than it had been in the previous spring, when deportation was carried out with apparent success. The shop committees were organized throughout the whole district, with telegraphic code and a corps of motor dispatch riders. The threat of a general strike brought about the unconditional release of the arrested committee, and an agreement under which the bill was withdrawn and modified.

Out of this situation the report of the Whitley Subcommittee of the Reconstruction Committee was born, born simultaneously with the first Bolshevik demonstration in Petrograd. Its purpose was to meet a situation which threatened a similar demand of the British proletariat for a share in the government of industry. The effect of the weakening of trade-union organizations was at last apparent. The problem had become one of restoring the authority of the trade-union leaders without curtailing the real advantages gained by the employer as a result of the war. Trade unionism must be reconstructed to prevent more radical developments. Any general industrial organization must be joint organization. The proposed plan aimed to localize the activity of the shop stew-

ards, to limit it to the consideration of certain matters already subject to trade-union negotiation, and to prevent its becoming a general class movement. A glance at the Whitley report will show that it recommends regularized collective bargaining, and that its chief purpose is to safeguard production against strikes and the opposition of labor to efficiency methods. Excepting in case of a general strike, power and authority, under the Whitley plan, will remain on one side of the table.

How far must the old order go to satisfy the demand of labor for a share in the control of industry? Early in 1917 a machinist organizer for the Birmingham district said: "It must be a real control. We have no desire or intention to be treated at the employers' table like poor relations." Recent events have proved that such a statement must be taken very seriously. Today labor is likely to look upon any compromise as temporary. Despite the fact that discussion of the joint industrial council was going ahead briskly, the workers continued to demand recognition of the new shop-committee organization. At a critical moment in 1918 the production of aircraft and munitions in Coventry was held up by a strike of fifty thousand workers, the sole issue being the recognition of the new industrial organization. The Birmingham workers threatened to strike on the same issue. This led the Government to hold a series of conferences—which aimed, however, merely to settle the status of shop stewards as a part of the regular trade-union organization. A glance at the twelve proposals made as a result of this conference should leave no doubt of the fact that the object was really to restrict the activities of the shop stewards to trade-union matters, preventing them from perfecting any general industrial organization.

Today this new industrial unity persists in large districts, even nationally. It is still opposed by the national trade-union executives, but is still able to call large strikes in spite of this opposition. Under the impetus of events in Russia it is quite frankly revolutionary. Apparently nothing short of a workers' commonwealth along Soviet lines will satisfy a growing proportion of British labor. The recent election served to discredit political action. It emphasized the contention that modern representative government is merely middle-class government masquerading as democracy. Direct industrial action is gaining converts as the only means by which the workers can achieve their ends. On the Clyde, in Belfast, London, Wales, everywhere the British Government is face to face with strikes and threats of strikes which aim to make it impossible to continue industry on a capitalistic basis. The miners are demanding nationalization with management in the hands of the workers. The latest strikes in Great Britain show that demarcation lines have been forgotten. In the light of such developments the Whitley Industrial Councils are estimated by many radical leaders as little more than an effort to give permanence to the existing order. According to Mr. Robert Williams, general secretary of the transport workers' organization, labor is already suggesting that the trade-union leaders connected with this scheme are agreeing to the existing capitalistic order and standardizing for all time what many workers conceive to be a slave state—a slave state wherein, however, the slaves shall be better fed, better housed, and better clothed, in order to make them more efficient units in a servile order of society. This is a view that cannot be overlooked in any attempt to estimate the forces at work in Great Britain today.

Foreign Correspondence

The Signora of the Cheeses

Genoa, Italy, March 10

MY captain called. "Can you tell me how to dispose of twelve hundred cheeses?" he asked. Twelve hundred cheeses to distribute! There were cheese-tickets, but for long there had been no cheese. A paradise of milk and honey will offer no attraction to a Genoese, if there is no cheese for his macaroni.

I wrote out order after order. There were forty cheeses to the city's postmen, forty to the street-cleaners, forty to the tram conductors, sixty to the elementary schools of the city which furnish meals to the city children, twenty to the Blind Institute, forty to Chiappeto, where there are three hundred refugees, and forty to the mutilated soldiers. Every hospital and asylum of the city received cheese. Forty cheeses went to the city's grave-diggers, for the epidemic raged, and the grave-diggers were overworked. Signor Ricci-Spinola, the director of the post, called. He desired to know if the cheeses sent were for the letter-carriers only, or also for telegraph-boys and special-delivery girls? He would like my answer in writing, as they were mobbing him at the central post.

"The cheeses sent are for the three hundred and fifty letter-carriers, but forty additional will be sent for the telegraph boys and the special-delivery girls."

The telephone rang all day. The superintendent of schools desired to know if the cheeses were to be divided among the elementary schools, or were to be shared with all the grades. The director of the Blind Institute stated that the cheeses were manna from heaven, but that there were two institutions for the blind. A soldier came in from the big military hospital of Chiappella. I looked at the modest market-basket on his arm. "The camion will deliver the cheeses," I told him. "But I will take them now in my little basket!"

The Signora Palazzi came. She is president of the society of the "Dieci Per Uno" (Ten for One Society) a society where each group of ten ladies takes care of one unfortunate. But the war had given the ladies ten thousand unfortunates. If a button dropped off your coat as you stood speaking to the Signora, she would immediately pick it up. "I know a poor soldier who has need of such a button," she would say with a winsome smile. And before she had turned the corner with your button, you knew that a brighter inspiration would be hers. "Why not get a shirt to fit the button?" The Signora desired cheese for the dispensary of the Dieci Per Uno, where three hundred women and children were waiting.

In the crowded street-car, where the people hang like swarming bees, the tram conductor leaned over to me. "O Signora, my share weighs over two pounds." She unfolded a shawl from the side-bars. Within was a piece of American cheese. The tram crowd stared and sighed. The city pharmacist murmured: "Ah, one could wish to be a derelict, and have a piece!"

When I reached home a beautiful black-and-white cat greeted me. The chaplain of the refugees' institution had heard that I was troubled with mice. These refugees had nothing to give but their appreciation and their cat, a trained cat that played dead and marched with a tiny Venetian flag. The fine black cat sat and purred on my hearth, and played her gentle tricks until she mysteriously disappeared.

The chaplain assured me that someone had sold her for rabbit—the fate of Genoese cats during these war years. The next morning a peasant woman appeared with a cardinal bird, its scarlet head and breast vivid against the pearl-gray feathers. “But the cheeses were not mine; it was the American Red Cross that sent them,” I protested. But she must express her gratitude personally, and I must accept the bird and her blessing.

I went out to the cemetery, the Campo Santo, the “blessed field” where the dust of our American soldiers blends with that of the earlier Crusaders. As I descended the long stairway an Italian soldier saluted, and I barely heard the whisper: “It is the Signora of the cheeses,” for my eyes were on the line of ragged Austrian prisoners, faded blue caps on their heads, digging graves. It is against the Hague Convention for prisoners to be put to work at grave-digging, but the City of Genoa had offered two lire (forty cents) a fosse, and the prisoners could thus volunteer. My racing thought leaped upon them—it was they who had started this world-war, and robbed us all of happiness!

“We have a dying Austrian prisoner.” The Italian sentinel spoke at my elbow. “Could you take him to the hospital in your motor? There is no time to call an ambulance.”

“Yes,” I said.

The man had fallen at his work; wounded internally, there was still a hidden bullet in his abdomen. They placed the prisoner at my right, seated upright in the car, and his head fell upon my shoulder. His blue uniform was faded gray and his barret was low on his forehead.

“A receipt for the prisoner, Signora,” said the sentinel.

So I wrote on my card, with the man’s heavy body against my shoulder, “Received one Austrian prisoner,” and signed. The sentinel and soldiery saluted smartly. The prisoners stood in their long line, their wide-opened eyes resting listlessly upon us. We whirled down the long street to the hospital, the siren screeching, while the people gaped and stared at the speeding motor with the distinguishing shield, *Croce Rossa Americana*. The Austrian prisoner’s head was on my shoulder, my arm about him. God! I could not find the man’s pulse. His hands were cold. What was his name? Had he any message? I could not speak his language. He was a Hungarian, dying on my hands, without comfort, without a priest, his limp body erect in the tonneau, resting against my arms. We rode, rushing down the car-tracks. Where was the man’s wandering soul?

The Italian Red Cross hospital had received that week a convoy of Austrian wounded. It was the nearest aid, and we drew up at the entrance. The sergeant standing at the door came at my call. “This is an Austrian prisoner sent by the military command of Staglieno—hasten, hasten, the man is dying!” The sergeant’s swift arms went out, and he bore the limp body of the prisoner within the hall, and set him on a bench against the wall, where the prisoner fell over.

The house-surgeon appeared. “Signora, where are the man’s papers?”

“Papers? They gave me no papers! He is dying, Captain.”

“Can’t accept him without his papers,” said the captain. The deadly tape of bureaucracy!

“But he is not *my* prisoner,” I remonstrated. “You will have to accept him, Captain. For humanity—”

There was a movement behind me. A corporal had lifted the prisoner as if he were a sack of sand, and put him in the motor again. The chauffeur turned toward me a face like a

whipped dog, and we whirled off toward the military hospital at the other side of the city. The sun was setting behind the light-house, beyond the snow-capped mountains of Savona. We were now circling the port. The sea lay a sheet of silver, the city set on her hills was infinitely beautiful under the arch of the sunset. But I was conscious of nothing but the grim Figure with the scythe suspended above us. If we raced fast enough, surely we should outdo him. I had fought that grim enemy so often in the hospital wards—that “last enemy, who is to be conquered!” It always seemed that if one were quick enough, one must thrust him out at the door!

I leaned forward and gave explicit directions to the chauffeur, who slowed down to hear me, his black eyes searching mine. “If he dies, how will you ever get rid of the corpse? The city hall will be closed for the night.” If no hospital would receive him, must I take him home for the night? Was I to be left alone with the dying prisoner and the sullen chauffeur? “*Come senta?*” I essayed in Italian, German, French, but the man gave no response. The mad whirl, the rush of wind in his face, seemed to revive him, for his eyelids suddenly quivered.

The big military hospital, Chiappella, stands on a hill. I saw with a sinking heart that a steep path, which no motor could climb, led up to the entrance. A little group of soldiers was standing on the sidewalk. I called to one with the cross of the medical corps on his barret—a nurse—but he said that he did not belong to this hospital. A crowd began to collect about the motor. “The American Red Cross-Madonna, they have an Austrian prisoner!”

“Yes, we have,” I said, and felt as if I had come direct from Vienna. “Hush, the poor fellow is dying.”

I raced up the steep path to the hospital entrance. It was hours, it seemed, before the house-surgeon came, for the door-sergeant wanted to know the story, and then the office-sergeant, while the soldiers gathered around. “Are we not Italians!” said one, “for the Red Cross to refuse to accept a dying man, for his papers!”

“But he is an Austrian prisoner,” I affirmed.

“Poveretto—poor thing,” said the sentinel. “Dog! Throw him into the bay,” cried a soldier.

The house-surgeon came, and called two orderlies. As they saluted, the little orderly with white hair whispered to his brother, “It is the lady who sent the cheeses!” I hastened, and they followed down the path at full speed. The two orderlies tenderly lifted the prisoner, bore him up the steep path, and disappeared into the wide door of the military hospital where the kindly house-surgeon received them.

When I reached home that evening it was late. The gray capes of two Italian sentinels rose at my approach and saluted. “We have come for the acknowledgment of the prisoner,” they said. “We have awaited you since six o’clock.” The deep chimes of the hall clock struck nine.

“What was the prisoner’s name?” I asked.

“Yes Tsvan,” said the sentinel. “He was the first violinist in an Hungarian orchestra. It is not the bullet that is killing him, but grief, Signora, for the bullet blew into fragments his violin. In the daytime he plants potatoes or digs graves to earn *lire* for candles for the nights when he works over the pieces. But he will never put it together, Signora. I know, for I too am a musician,” said the Italian. “Pazienza, it is the war, Signora.” He shrugged a gracious good-night, and far down the path his voice came back, singing very slowly from “*La Bohème*,” “*Che gelida manina, se la lasci riscaldar.*”

EDNA HOWELL

The New United States

VIII. The Question of Inland Waterways

IF one were to accept at their face value all the accounts of the subject which have appeared during the past few months in the newspapers of the central West, one might easily believe that the day of an elaborately planned and extensively used system of inland waterways was close at hand. It will not be the fault of the press if the coming of that day is deferred. Not a project, however obviously local, under which, by any practicable amount of dredging or ditching, a ton of freight could reach the seaboard or the Great Lakes by barge or steamer rather than by rail, has failed of generous exploitation in the daily press. What is said in the newspapers is, on the whole, identical with what one hears from officers of chambers of commerce and boards of trade; and recent national and interstate conventions at which the subject has been discussed have been well attended as well as liberally reported. On the other hand, far the larger number of the business men with whom I have talked, including some whose businesses were such as to suggest a willing use of waterways if any were available, have been skeptical, and there is certainly little evidence of extensive popular interest in the subject anywhere. There is, presumably, some good reason why a transport facility which, to all appearances, would be of value to many communities and to a considerable number of large industries, should not arouse a greater measure of general public interest, especially in view of the fact that the cost of construction and maintenance is likely to be assumed by the Federal Government rather than to fall upon the States.

Whatever attitude the Federal Government may have assumed towards the question of inland water transportation in the past, it has not of late been open to the charge of niggardliness or lack of interest. When Mr. McAdoo became Director-General of Railroads, there fell to him also the administration of such rivers and canals as were in use for transportation purposes; and a commission was presently appointed to investigate the inland waterways situation and to suggest a plan whereby the waterways of the country might be more extensively used and the strain upon the railways, due to war conditions, be thereby relieved. According to Mr. McAdoo's official report on the subject, made public at the end of January last, 160 vessels of steel, wood, or concrete were under construction, and fifty craft of steel or wood had been bought. The total appropriation for old and new floating equipment exceeded \$11,750,000.

Leaving out of account, as beyond the scope of the present inquiry, the New York Barge Canal, the control of which was also taken over by the United States for the period of the war and immediately thereafter, the inland waterways projects fall in the main into two classes: those which aim to provide water routes to the Great Lakes and thence to the sea, and those which seek an outlet to the Gulf of Mexico. Each of these, again, comprises two divisions. A number of cities are interested in the opening of water routes to the Lakes. Toledo and Cincinnati, for example, are concerned in a movement which has for its object the construction of a barge canal connecting Lake Erie and the Ohio River. A convention at Defiance, Ohio, January 27-28, adopted resolutions looking to Government aid for this project, and for another canal connecting Toledo with Chicago by way of Defiance and Fort Wayne. The Indiana Legis-

lature had before it in February a bill dealing with the construction of a canal which should connect Lake Michigan and the Wabash River, thus shortening by 200 miles any proposed water route between Lake Michigan and the Ohio.

These are local projects, however. The main interest in inland waterways, so far as the Great Lakes are concerned, has to do with the opening of the Lakes to sea-going vessels. "Take the Atlantic Ocean to the heart of the continent," was the slogan of a Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Tidewater Association, formed at Washington on February 5, and having for its aim the improvement of the St. Lawrence by deepening the river channel or enlarging the canals, and the utilization of the new Welland Canal which connects Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, thereby enabling sea-going vessels to reach the Lakes. The plan contemplates, of course, the coöperation of the Canadian Government and the Government at Washington. Commercial organizations in Detroit and Duluth are the special promoters of this enterprise, and an amendment to the River and Harbor bill in support of it was introduced in the Senate by Senator Lenroot of Minnesota. The fact that the St. Lawrence is closed by ice during the winter months is not regarded as an obstacle to the profitable use of the proposed waterway for the rest of the year, and the engineering difficulties are said to be inconsiderable. The practical importance of the scheme is evidenced by the report in opposition which Mr. Lewis Nixon, Superintendent of Public Works of the State of New York, promptly submitted to Governor Smith, and which the Governor laid before the Legislature on February 10. According to Mr. Nixon, "proposals like the canalizing of the St. Lawrence . . . simply block for a time the utilization of our canal system. . . . If it does develop that the east and west rail and water routes to the seaboard are overtaxed, then the funds of the nation had better be expended on Mississippi Valley routes to the Gulf ports to supplement the east and west highways." The New York Senate, on February 11, unanimously adopted a resolution protesting against the Lenroot amendment.

No opposition from States with water transportation systems of their own to guard and develop has been evoked by the proposed enlargement of Mississippi River commerce. With the exception of the commercial cities of the Lakes region, it is the Mississippi, the Ohio, the Missouri, and their tributaries which come most naturally to mind when the subject of inland waterways is mentioned. Here is a great system of natural highways, thousands of miles in length, traversing the Mississippi Valley from the Great Lakes to the Gulf, reaching from the Appalachians to the Rocky Mountains, penetrating the mountains of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama on the east, and the hills and plains on the west. From the early days of the raft and the canoe to the later days of the steamboat and the steel barge, the rivers of the Mississippi Valley have continued to carry an appreciable volume of commerce, both freight and passenger. The traveller who has never made the trip from St. Paul to St. Louis, or from St. Louis to New Orleans, by river steamer, or followed the windings of the Tennessee or the Cumberland on a "stern-wheeler," has missed a picturesque experience and some fascinating literary material. How stands the matter of transportation on those waterways now?

On July 11, 1918, the entire charge of the construction,

acquisition, and operation of equipment for use on the Mississippi between St. Louis and New Orleans, on the Warrior River between the Alabama coal fields and Mobile, and on the Mississippi Sound and connecting waters between Mobile and New Orleans, was entrusted to a Federal manager appointed by Director-General McAdoo. The scarcity of craft suitable for river navigation made it at first impracticable to supplement the service already operated by private companies by additional tonnage under Federal control, and the Government accordingly acquired certain equipment from private owners. Two towboats and nine barges, operated by the Kansas City-Missouri River Navigation Company between Kansas City and St. Louis, were bought by the Government for \$458,500, and one towboat was chartered from another private owner. Further to enlarge the service, twenty steel barges and two steel towboats, used by the United States Engineers under the direction of the Mississippi River Commission, were leased until June 1 of the present year. This was the Federal equipment—five towboats and twenty-nine barges—at the time when Mr. McAdoo made his report in January last. Beginning September 28, a weekly service was operated between St. Louis and New Orleans. Six steel towboats and forty 2,000-ton steel barges, the construction of which has been authorized at a cost of \$6,170,000, will, it is estimated, add 850,000 tons annual capacity to the Mississippi freight equipment.

One important obstacle to the development of the Mississippi service is the lack of suitable terminals. According to the last report (September, 1918) of the Mississippi River Commission, no mechanical means of handling freight are to be found between Cairo, Ill., and the Gulf, except at Natchez, Miss., and New Orleans. All the river towns and many landings have warehouses or wharf boats for the storage of freight, but none is equipped for the loading or unloading of freight in bulk. Natchez has an incline railway for the transfer of freight between cars and boats. New Orleans has five miles of public wharves, three and one-half miles of which are covered with steel sheds. A Board of Commissioners of the Port of New Orleans controls the wharves, and a municipal belt railway makes connection with all the railways entering the city. A terminal is in process of construction at St. Louis, and the East St. Louis terminal of the Kansas City-Missouri River Navigation Company has been bought by the Government. The purchase of the equipment of the company just named by the Government has left Kansas City for the time being without a river line, and the sole occupant of its municipal wharf is a caretaker. The provision of new equipment for the Ohio River has been deferred pending, apparently, the completion of various projected improvements between Pittsburgh and Cincinnati.

A good deal of attention has been given by the Federal authorities to the development of the Warrior River route, connecting the Birmingham coal fields with Mobile and New Orleans. At the date of Mr. McAdoo's report, the Government had purchased three towboats, twenty-one wooden barges, and six steel self-propelled barges for service between Cordova, near Birmingham, and tidewater, at a cost of about \$700,000. The barges, designed primarily as coal carriers, have an estimated annual capacity of 300,000 tons. Only part of this fleet, however, appears to be in operation. Additional construction authorized comprises three steel towboats and twenty wooden barges for coal carriage, and four steamers suitable for merchandise as well as for coal. The cost of this additional equipment, the annual capacity

of which is estimated at 375,000 tons, will be approximately \$1,600,000.

What is the outlook for a return on this expenditure, and is it likely that the river service, even if fully developed in accordance with the present Government plans, will appreciably relieve the pressure upon the railways?

The chief problem of river transportation, so far as the Mississippi and Warrior routes are concerned, is to get an up-stream cargo. Down-stream freight on the Ohio is chiefly coal, while on the Mississippi it is grain. With the exception of lumber from the Memphis district, up-stream cargoes are likely to consist for the most part of package freight; and most classes of package freight cannot be carried in barges intended primarily for coal or regularly used for that commodity. On the other hand, the towing up-stream of empty or partly-loaded barges adds materially to the cost of the round trip, and cuts heavily into the yearly tonnage and the annual receipts. In the two months from the end of September to the end of November, the Government service between St. Louis and New Orleans made only five round trips, and showed a gross revenue of \$48,500, and gross operating expenses of \$52,000 exclusive of overhead charges. The Warrior River route offers more encouraging conditions in that the coal output of the Cordova district is sufficient to keep the river fleet employed throughout the year; moreover, some of the new craft under construction are designed, as has been said, for merchandise as well as for coal. Very little package freight is as yet offered on this route, however, and what there is must be transhipped at Cordova in order to reach Birmingham.

The solution of the problem seems to lie, first, in the establishment of equitable rates for joint rail and river hauls, and, second, in the development of local markets and the resulting local transportation. The first of these steps waits upon the settlement of the railway question. If the railways are to be turned back to private control, the old condition of railway discrimination against the river and canal service will inevitably recur, and equitable joint rates will not be made. Only with a continuance of Federal control of railways will the competing inland waterways become effective factors in transportation, or materially relieve the traffic congestion with which the railways have to contend. In other words, the inland waterways will have to be treated as an integral part of the transportation system of the country, and not as a side issue; otherwise they will be operated at a loss and the public will obtain no relief.

The development of local markets and local transportation involves, on the whole, only a wider extension of what is now going on. The privately-owned steamers which ply on the Ohio, the Mississippi, the Tennessee, or the Cumberland, carrying passengers as well as freight, serve in the main local needs. Such service can be greatly extended, in all the regions possessing inland waterways, in proportion as communities and individuals seek to develop local economic areas, buy and sell in local markets, practice coöperation in production and marketing, and thereby emancipate themselves as far as practicable from the control of the great manufacturing and distributing establishments which at present so largely control both markets and freight rates. Until this is done, it is to be feared that the great network of river highways with which nature has furnished the United States, like the canals which supplement it, will continue to be carried on the nation's books as a charge rather than as a productive asset.

WILLIAM MACDONALD

A Worthy Addition to the Forty Immortals

By WILLIAM H. SCHEIFLEY

THE recent election of François de Curel to the French Academy was a just tribute to the "drama of ideas." For Curel is not only a poet-dramatist, but a psychologist and philosopher as well. With the possible exception of Vigny and Dumas *fils*, no French dramatist of the nineteenth century equals him for depth of thought. Nor has any approached social and philosophic questions with a more open mind. His fairness, his broad vision, and his disdain of "popularity" are qualities possessed in equal degree by few literary men of today. Though not a dilettante, Curel never presumes to solve social problems. If perchance he reaches a definite conclusion, he seems to offer an apology for his convictions. And yet he might be called the protagonist of his best plays. In other words, he merely presents in dramatic form social and ethical questions which for years have given him food for meditation.

We owe Curel's dramatic work to a conflict between his temperament and the circumstances of his life. Born at Metz in 1854, of a wealthy family of Lorraine nobility, he inherited a large country estate and extensive industrial interests. Though he received a technical education, the materialistic spirit of industrial life did not appeal to his finely-attuned temperament. Like his Robert de Chantemelle in "The Fossils," he preferred the solitude of nature and the mysterious charm of the invisible world. He delighted to rove in the forest, where every tree seemed like a confidant. He adored the chase. While fishing, he would listen to the murmur of the rippling water. In bubbling springs he saw reflected the infinite expanse of the heavens. The shrill chirp of an insect, the faint sigh of the wind, the creaking of a swaying tree, everything that affected his emotions, tended to alienate him from his calling. According to the dramatist himself, it was the mysterious voice of heredity, "cet attachement au passé qui tue notre avenir."

And so young Curel, like his Jean de Sancy in "The Lion's Feast," would not assume active management of the metallurgical firm of Curel and Wendel, with its twelve thousand employees. Instead, he became a country gentleman, an aristocratic sportsman with dramatic art as an avocation. That the necessity of taking this step caused him some regret, we know from numerous hints in his dramas. How was he to choose between the Old Order and the New? Though in the main he admired modern civilization, the lot of his social class grieved him. Ridiculed, scorned, and shorn of all political influence, it was now but the shadow of its traditional splendor. And so he seems to stand, like a perplexed Janus, on the confines of modernity and tradition. Small wonder that Robert de Chantemelle should invoke our pity. "Modern ideas," he declares, "appeal to my reason, but my heart is with the past. Go where I will, it means exile for one half of me." Thanks to this tragic duality, Curel has been likened to writers as dissimilar as Corneille, Marivaux, Stendhal, Musset, Schopenhauer, and Ibsen. The list should include Pascal and Vigny, but a Vigny free from bitterness; for Curel, even in the mêlée of social controversy, remains calm and considerate.

His work comprises three novels and eleven plays. The novels, discursive attempts of an idealist at "naturalism," do not suggest the playwright. Now ironical, now satirical—

often mere caricature—they mystify rather than interest the reader. It was in the drama, with its postulates of concentration and clearness, that Curel found his best medium of expression, as four of his plays attest. These are: "A False Saint," "The Fossils," "The Lion's Feast," and "The New Idol." Certain others—for instance, "The Girl Savage," "The Dance Before the Mirror," and "The Comedy of Genius"—though remarkable for poetic symbolism and abstract philosophy, must be enjoyed as a *spectacle dans un fauteuil*. But Curel, who abhors mediocrity, has never written for the masses. Of this we have abundant proof in "The Comedy of Genius" (1918), the play in which he considers the difficulty of reaching humble hearts with a masterpiece that reflects the profundity of the soul. While in no sense an arrogant aristocrat, he admires whatever rises above the common level of mankind, just as he adores the gigantic trees of his forest because they tower above the others.

It was "A False Saint" (1892) that revealed Curel's dramatic talent. Produced by Antoine at the Free Theatre, the play immediately ranked its author among the leading French dramatists of the day. It is still Curel's most natural piece. It excels as a portrait of provincial manners and in the psychology of character. Julie Renaudin, a feminine complement to Tartufe (or should we say a French Doña Perfecta?), both fascinates people and inspires them with fear. Though an exceptional type, she is none the less lifelike.

Even more uncompromising than Julie is the stern royalist heroine of "The Fossils." This play, which has to do with the rôle of the French nobility, reflects the dramatist's grievances against the utilitarian spirit of contemporary society. While he would by no means "mow an entire meadow to save a little flower," he doubts that "mankind, with its present invariable levelling tendency, can long continue to mount toward its mysterious destiny." An exaggeration though it be to say that "ages of martial valor, of intellectual superiority, of refinement of manner, must necessarily produce a posterity above the common," yet Curel considers noble birth something more than prejudice. But however cultured a nobleman may be, he must be also a citizen in the broadest sense of the term. Let him accept modern civilization and seek to understand its good features. An atmosphere of austere epic grandeur very appropriately pervades this drama on the tragic extinction of an illustrious social class.

"The Lion's Feast," Curel's study of capital and labor, is full of social ideas. Philanthropy, charity, labor unions, capitalism, the vandalism of modern industry, the rôle of the Church—in short, all the complex problems implied in "the struggle between labor and capital"—are examined with remarkable impartiality. But after labor has presented its case, after the various types of charitable activity have been considered, the fact remains that "there is only one class of human beings who are helpful, those who open new channels of human activity." Moreover, "every time mankind advances in a particular direction, some solitary individual, showing the way, has gone far on ahead with giant strides." And Curel's capitalist adds that artists, orators, philosophers, all who are daring in either act or thought, create, devise, and invent for a troop of monkeys, who copy

their slightest movements. They are the good geniuses of these monkeys, since they spare them the intellectual burdens of civilization. Call this theory "individualism elevated to duty," if you will: Jean de Sancy, the popular orator of Catholic labor clubs, accepts it with sincere conviction. He accepts it because he realizes the impossibility of reconciling capital and labor through the intermediary of Christian doctrine.

"The Lion's Feast" is authentically autobiographical. This we know not only from the facts of the playwright's life, but also from a passage in "The Comedy of Genius." "Before arranging them in three acts," says his protagonist, "I lived through the events of several of my dramas." By substituting the author for Jean de Sancy, we get the drama of Curel's early manhood. And so the play has been called "l'œuvre la plus hautement représentative de l'angoisse intellectuelle qui ait été donnée sur la scène contemporaine."

Scarcely less heavy with "intellectual anguish" is the theme of "The New Idol," a play which examines the so-called conflict between science and religion. Curel's perplexity is the greater because, though believing in the superior achievements of the individual, he sees grave danger in the cult of science by its zealous devotees. The leading character, Dr. Donnat, a man of fine intellect, has not only a commendable desire to discover a cure for cancer; he is also charitable and sincere. But narrow vision has obscured his reason and so distorted his conscience that he would take life on a small scale in the hope of saving life on a large scale. His fanatical cult has made him arrogant and conceited. Happily his conceit falls before the simple faith of a little girl, and he is suddenly haunted by the mystery of the unknown, the infinite, the eternal. Now for the first time he realizes the limitations of science; and it becomes clear to him that, despite all boastful claims, the "new idol" can never replace the supernatural faith of hoping, groping, suffering mankind.

"The New Idol" consecrated Curel's fame. At the same time it indicated definitely the trend of his thought. Owing to his abstract ideas and his impartiality in presenting both sides of a question, critics had hesitated to classify him. They now counted him definitely among the conservatives. We should not, however, regard him as an exponent of revealed religion. In "The New Idol" he merely satirizes the folly, so common in our restless, materialistic age, of abandoning one "superstition" for another. That Curel is not a believer we infer particularly from his attitude in "The Girl Savage," with its study of the force of Christian civilization. Elsewhere the dramatist regrets that "as reason enlightens man he loses his naïve faith, and with it his sublime conception of the ideal." But as between the two disputed "idols," he prefers decidedly that of his ancestors.

In Curel's work so far we may note three distinct tendencies, or manners. The naturalism of his novels, his first productions, was followed by a period of experimental psychology, characteristic of his early plays. "Love Embroiders" and "The Beat of the Wing" are essentially romantic. "The Lion's Feast" and "The New Idol," which constitute his storm and stress period, mark his third manner; and their subjective idealism remains his predominant tendency. Neither the comedy of manners, nor the realistic drama of exact observation, nor the "bourgeois tragedy" seems adapted to his dramatic temperament. He is too imaginative and emotional, too intellectual and philosophic. The "well-made" play he disdains, though he has the finest artistic

sense. Nor does he believe in using the stage as a pulpit. "Eclairer le peuple par ces moyens est une chimère."

The themes that attract him, when not based on personal experience, are likely to be abnormal cases in the psychology of crime, heredity, and sex-pathology. Though he is never morbid like the Goncourts and Henry Bataille, his subtle analysis of character, with its evasive nuances, often disconcerts all but a few rare discriminating spirits. Says Mr. Barrett H. Clark: "He seeks out the strange occurrences in life, shapes the facts into a simple story, and then proceeds to analyze motives. Situations are for him only excuses for soul and mind analysis." In other words, characters interest him chiefly in proportion to the intensity of their *vie intérieure*, their spiritual life. There are obscurities in his work, but his style, at once vivid and sober, stamps it always with individuality. Yet in spite of the serious, at times sombre, tone of most of his work, Curel the man is of a jovial disposition. It is natural that the frivolity of contemporary society should impress unfavorably a country gentleman who dislikes *le monde*. He prefers the company of his huntsmen and his dogs to the insipid prattle of the *salon*. He is not a *noble désœuvré*. Though sometimes called an aristocrat, he takes sympathetic interest in the peasantry. His alleged "contempt" for women is a myth.

Imaginative, a dramatist with ideas, a penetrating psychologist, every inch an artist, always sympathetically human, François de Curel is probably the most original French playwright to-day. We feel that his fame has not yet reached its zenith.

Correspondence

The Duty of the Church

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: My attention has been called to the lucid explanatory communication from the pen of Mr. Raymond Swing on the Reconstruction Programme of the National Catholic War Council which appeared in the *Nation* of March 22. At the close of his admirable article Mr. Swing expresses the opinion that the Programme is the product of "astute calculation." As I am one of the four Bishops who signed that Programme, I may, perhaps, be permitted to remark that my colleagues and I were unconscious either of astuteness or of associated calculation in our work.

However much men may differ about certain minor details contained in the Programme, it is based upon the immutable principles of justice and charity which the Church holds, has ever held, and will ever hold. The duty of the Universal Church is to instruct the citizens of each state in the application of these principles. And although at times the Church has found it difficult to make its voice heard above the clamor of materialism, yet she has never been watchful for a suitable opportunity to impress her lessons of justice and charity upon all peoples, but especially upon captains of industry. That opportunity came at the close of the war. To us it appeared that the world, and in particular the United States, was willing to listen to representatives of the Church, which throughout all the ages has striven not only to protect the workman but to further his progress in all ways consistent with Christian morality. In this you have the reason why the Bishops have brought forth once again the old, old principles of justice which the Church is bound to preserve and to teach as best she may.

PETER J. MULDOON
National Catholic War Council

Rockford, Ill., April 11

The Oil Producers and Mexico

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I should be glad to have you, in fairness, lay before your readers the accompanying statement.

C. H. BOYNTON

STATEMENT OF THE ASSOCIATION OF OIL PRODUCERS IN MEXICO

The constant reiteration of the allegation directed against the American companies producing oil in Mexico that it is their purpose to foment trouble between the United States and Mexico, and that they are backing revolutionary movements in that country, has brought forth from an official of the Association of Oil Producers in Mexico the following flat denial:

There is absolutely nothing in the allegation, as we have repeatedly made clear. The State Department, whose duty it is to be informed, has stated there is no reason to suspect such relations.

Foreign companies built up—created—the industry of petroleum production in Mexico. Their lands were acquired by purchase and lease under Mexican laws. In 1916, after fifteen years, the industry was finally receiving a return.

The Constituent Assembly in Mexico in 1917 adopted a constitution purporting to repeal the laws of Mexico retroactively and to take over for the Mexican Government, for redistribution among individuals and Mexican corporations exclusively, the lands honestly acquired by American companies and developed at great expense by them. Against this constitutional precept and the confiscatory decrees based upon it, the American, French, British, and Dutch Governments lodged protests clearly characterizing the Mexican programme as confiscatory. It was thereafter that the oil companies united to protect themselves against spoliation. The Mexican Government has since been attempting to coerce the companies into performing some act or acts which will amount to acquiescence in the propriety of the confiscatory laws. The companies have refused to be trapped.

When the companies would not surrender their properties and when their respective Governments protested against the confiscation planned by the Mexican Government, the latter, instead of answering such protests, set itself to create an impression in this country that the oil companies were trying to bring about intervention by the United States, knowing that if the American people could be misled into this belief they would not approve a war with Mexico. A few American periodicals, including the *Nation*, have aligned themselves on the side of the Carranza Government, and therefore in opposition to their own. The Carranza Government will not insist upon its plan of confiscation if it is convinced that foreign nations will insist upon the observance by Mexico of the precedents of international law. The only certain way to bring about intervention is to create in this country a divided opinion as to the propriety of the Mexican programme of confiscation, which will encourage the Mexicans to try to put it into effect. The nations that have protested will then intervene, or compel the United States to do so for them. On the other hand, the *Nation* can do its part to avert intervention by indicating to Mexico that the people of this country are united in their insistence that Mexico shall observe the rules of the family of nations. For the *Nation* to fail to do so is a failure of patriotism and must add to the embarrassment of our Government. The settlement of this controversy is essential to the life of the American merchant marine, and it must be settled soon; it can be settled in an orderly way; and in the interest of the Mexican people and the oil companies themselves it is to be hoped that the orderly way will be possible. Anyone should be able to see that the oil companies must want to avoid intervention in their own interest.

Neither the Association nor any of its members has any connection with, or is in any way contributing toward, the Blanquet or Diaz revolution, or has voluntarily given any financial assistance to any movement against the Mexican Government recognized by the American Government. Pay-

ments which companies have been forced to make for protection have been made after recommendation to do so by the Mexican Ambassador designate at Washington. The revolutionist to whom these payments have been made is hostile to Felix Diaz.

New York, April 11

[With reference to the last paragraph of the above statement, the Association of Oil Producers in Mexico, in a letter published in the *New York Tribune* of April 13, stated that the companies at one time, on the advice of John Lind, paid \$20,000 to the revolutionist Aguilar, afterward Secretary of State under Carranza; that at another time, on the advice of Señor Arredondo, then the representative of the Carranza Government at Washington, they paid tribute to the revolutionist Pelaez; and that since that time they have continually paid tribute to Pelaez.—THE EDITOR.

Guarding Education

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The Wage Earners' Institute has been in existence since 1899 as a non-political, non-partisan educational institution, committed to the one fundamental principle—the education of working people. On Friday evening, March 21, Mr. Evan W. Thomas spoke on "Political Prisoners and Democracy." About seventy-five young men and women listened quietly to the lecturer. To guard them against somebody or something, there were stationed near the building three police officers, in the corridor of the house four detectives, and inside the assembly room one detective from the Department of Justice. This is the first visitation of the kind in the twenty years of the Institute's educational work. New York is indeed being safeguarded for democracy.

EDWARD M. KAHN

New York City, April 5

The Atlantic in War Time

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I was startled to read in the *Nation* not long ago, in the review of Mr. DeWolfe Howe's "The Atlantic Monthly and Its Makers," the following: "It is surprising now to look back upon the magazine's early and long-continued indifference (comparative indifference, at least) to the things of the passing hour. Scarcely a trace is left upon its pages even by the tremendous occurrences of our Civil War." Is it possible, I questioned, that this new volume of history is so inadequate? Or has the reviewer failed, perchance, to read it? Or does Homer merely nod? So I took down the volumes of the *Atlantic* for 1861, and copied the titles of the contributions relating to the war. They were no less than thirty-three in number. In the issue for July, 1861, for example, there are three prose articles and one poem, covering in all nearly forty of the 128 pages of the issue—nearly a third of the contents devoted to war topics.

WILLIAM H. POWERS

Brookings, S. D., March 10

[The criticised passage was meant to convey only a relative truth, as therein indicated; but, conceding verbal indiscretion, one can still say with Mr. Howe that "as one turns over the pages of the volumes from 1861 to 1865, one is struck with the fact that, although the war is constantly reflected in them, this reflection does not usually appear in more than one or two items in the monthly programme. By far the greater portion of each issue was devoted to the fiction, the essays, the poetry, the criticism that would have appeared in any period of peace." By way of contrast, the February *Atlantic* contains only four or at most five contributions (out of twenty) that are wholly unconnected with the late war; while the January number has but two, in a total of twenty-two, that can similarly show a clean bill of health.—THE REVIEWER.

Two Americas

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It would seem that there are two Americas today—the one fearless, unshackled, open-minded in its quest of civil and religious freedom; and the other slavish, subservient, and subsidized in some form or other, endangering the very life-spirit of our republic by the intensity of its hatreds and hypocrisies.

In 1915, Captain Charles Hamilton Sorley, of the British army, who was later killed in action, wrote the following sonnet, which might well be read by our irreconcilables, and heeded:

TO GERMANY

You are blind like us. Your hurt no man designed,
And no man claimed the conquest of your land,
But, groppers both, through fields of thought confined.
We stumble and we do not understand.

You only saw your future bigly planned,
And we, the tapering paths of our own mind,
And in each other's dearest ways we stand,
And hiss and hate. And the blind fight the blind.

When it is peace, then may we view again
With new-won eyes each other's truer form,
And wonder. Grown more loving-kind and warm,
We'll grasp firm hands and laugh at the old pain,
When it is peace. But until peace, the storm,
The darkness, and the thunder and the rain.

ABRAM S. ISAACS

New York University, April 12

Italian Shipping

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The proposal of the railroad workers to operate the railroads in coöperation with the Government merits the support, at this time, of the American people. Before the war, such a proposal would have secured scant attention, but now, with labor conscious of its strength, and in a ferment of unrest, it should be hearkened to. Especially interesting in this connection is the policy recently adopted by the Italian Government in regard to the control of some of its shipping. There, the private companies had made exorbitant demands, the seamen were especially well organized and labor troubles were certain to result if the ships were turned over to the private companies. The deliberations of the Italian Reconstruction Committee, one of the members of which was a representative of the Seamen's Federation, were summed up in the following resolution. (See *The New Age*, January 9, 1919.) "This committee (Senator Marconi, chairman) warmly approves and recommends to the Government the proposal made by the seamen's representative that certain of the ships, lent by the Allies to Italy, be placed under the management of the Seamen themselves in their industrial organization." This resolution was presented to the Prime Minister, who officially sanctioned the transferring of the ships. A Coöperative Society, which assumed the legal obligations, was formed, and the Minister of Transport announced that the State would support the Coöperative, and as an earnest of his intention he transferred capital amounting to several hundred million lire to it. Thus was solved the problem of bureaucracy, if the ships were to be under state control; the problem of domination of the shipping industry by Trusts; and, most important, the working problems met with by the State and the private shipping companies in carrying on shipping without the coöperation of the Federation. In this way, service, undisturbed by strikes, is guaranteed.

A similar plan for our railroads should seriously be considered. The railroad workers have the brains and skill to operate the roads. Their abilities would be developed by actual

contact with the details of operation,—labor troubles would be minimized and the public would benefit from the continuous service. Most important, the adoption of this policy would go far to allay the labor unrest now so prevalent, for labor would then see that the Government, besides recognizing it as an indispensable factor of industry, is in reality its best friend and is heartily willing to support labor in every possible way.

MARCUS A. HEYMAN

New York, March 23

Comparative Philology in New Jersey

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A New Jersey evening newspaper publishes the following bit of scholarly information:

"Lithuanians, who have applied to Poland for aid against the Bolsheviki, were responsible for the downfall of the great Polish empire of the middle centuries. Then they turned and helped the Polish to prevent the expansion of the Teutonic nation of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth centuries. Lithuanians have kept alive the old Aryan speech, and many a Lithuanian peasant can read Sanskrit."

It has been known for many years that the Baltic group of races, which by affinity are intermediate between Slavs and Teutons, retains some verbal forms closer to the Sanskrit than are those of any other European family. But discovery of so close a degree of relationship is evidently a product of the new intellectualism stimulated by the war. We have all heard of Cornishmen who could talk with Bretons, and of English sailors who understood the jargon of stevedores in Dutch seaports through their own vernacular. Yet that the Lithuanian peasants are able to understand the sacred language of Indian pundits is a contribution to philological knowledge of the first magnitude.

Especially noteworthy is the fact that they can read it when presumably they do not know the right-side-up of a book in their own dialect. This must be attributable to hereditary instinct. An element of prescience also mingles with the heredity, in view of the respective dates at which the races migrated and letters were introduced. Undoubtedly their Sanskrit books are those printed in the standard Devanagari character, which texts are so plentiful among the Lithuanian marshes. Surely, if the tide of erudition keeps on rising in New Jersey, we shall soon behold the commuters from Hackensack, Montclair, and Secaucus carrying volumes of the Atharva Veda or Mahabharata in the original to read on the Erie.

AHIMSAKA

Aryavarta, April 1

A Frenchman's Fear for Democracy

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Perhaps you will feel disposed to grant space for the subjoined passage on the ground that just now is an eminently fitting time to recall it. In 1831 De Tocqueville visited the United States and remained here about a year; the most important result of this visit was his "Democracy in America," which appeared after his return to France. The passage quoted is from this well-known work.

"I believe," says the author, "that it is easier to establish an absolute and despotic Government amongst a people in which the conditions of society are equal, than amongst any other; and I think that, if such a Government were once established amongst such a people, it would not only oppress men, but would eventually strip each of them of several of the highest qualities of humanity. Despotism, therefore, appears to me peculiarly to be dreaded in democratic times."

C. H. IBERSHOFF

Chicago, April 6

The Cloakmaker

By MARGARET WIDDEMER

I HAVE woven many years
Cloaks of dream to fold
Stranger-folk from rain of tears,
Beat of sorrow-cold.

Whoso wears my cloak of dream
Feels no chill of care
Nor the bitter winds that stream
From an old despair.

Purple wave the cloaks and gold,
Wide and warm they swing,
Heavy-rippling, fold on fold—
I go shivering.

In the Driftway

SEVERAL years ago the Drifter witnessed a quaint ceremony at the Tower of London. It was sunset, and the guard approached the gate, where it was challenged by the sentry: "Who goes there?" "The King's keys," replied the sergeant of the guard. "Advance, King's keys, and give the countersign," ordered the sentry (the wording is probably inaccurate), and after this had been done, the sentry added: "Pass, King's keys!" and the King's keys passed into the custody of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Tower for the night. This curious ceremony is, doubtless, still of nightly occurrence, and the King of England is still in titular possession of his keys. From an artistic point of view the world would be the poorer for the abolition of so pretty a custom, and since, in England at all events, the King's keys are in fact the people's keys, the Drifter is not disposed to frown on its continuance. But what of the keys of so many other kings—not the keys of harmless national museums, but the keys of St. Peter and St. Paul, the Schlüsselberg, and many others? They have passed—with their kings.

* * * *

BUT even in England old customs are passing and venerable traditions are being broken. What may amount to a radical change in the matter of royal marriages seems likely to result from the dearth of foreign princes consequent upon the late unpleasantness. The Prince of Wales is reported to be looking to the ranks of the British nobility for a bride. And here the superstitious may recall with some misgiving that the last British king to make a non-royal marriage was James II, who lost his crown. For another case of non-royal marriage we have to go back to Henry VIII—who, by the way, perpetrated several. Only two of his wives were of royal birth: Catherine of Aragon, who was supplanted by the English Anne Boleyn, and Anne of Cleves, whom he hastily divorced because, as he said, she had "a face like a Flanders mare."

* * * *

THE Rev. Dr. Manning, in accepting the Legion of Honor, expressed his love for the French Kingdom which had come to our rescue when a "German king on a British throne had tried to deprive us of our British liberty." The Drifter welcomes this new amendment to the Constitution of True

History and respectfully proposes the following by-laws. When Herr Ebert signs the Treaty of Peace between the Central Powers and the Allies he shall refer to "the late unpleasantness, caused by a House of Bavarian upstarts, ruling our beloved native Prussia." President Wurstl of the Austrian Republic, in adding his signature, shall apologize for the unfortunate occurrences caused by "a family of Swiss barons occupying the throne of our dear Austrian Fatherland." The Spanish nation shall explain publicly and humbly its deep regret at a persistent neutrality forced upon the hapless country by "a French family." So shall Sweden. As for Holland, the case is beyond repair or hope. A mere German princeling, a certain William the Silent, founded this state. Nothing short of the immediate execution of the Queen could make up for this outrage. Russia, however, can take hope. The next time Lenine and Trotzky are compared to Ivan, of terrible memory, they will shrug their shoulders and say, "What can you expect of a Swede trying to rule Russia?" They may even point out that Emperor Napoleon was an Italian condottiere ruling France.

* * * *

THE Drifter reads of the swarm of foot, horse, and automobile sleuths who are guarding Messrs. Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Sonnino, watching them as carefully as if they were the glass flowers in Harvard's famous museum. The President of a republic pursuing his solitary course behind lines of bayonets is not an inspiring sight. If this be the price of the effort to make the world safe for democracy, then the Drifter would bid a reluctant farewell to the days when democracy was an academic tradition of classical flavor, and autocracy was a practical system which made street companions of emperor and chimney-sweep. The Drifter often met wood old King Oscar and his sons taking their constitutional in Stockholm; it was a pleasant sight to see the "three tallest men in the kingdom," as they were popularly supposed to be, with no other bodyguard than the love of the people. Once when the Drifter was in Copenhagen, the king of Denmark, sailing in a little boat by himself, was saved from drowning by a drug-store clerk who was racing his own craft in the waters of the Sound. In Christiania, the Drifter beheld the spectacle of the Norwegian king standing patiently in a street-car while his subjects, to show their democratic ways, remained seated, and affected a deep interest in the evening paper. In Holland, a popular sport of errand boys consists in riding circles and intricate figures around the queen, who continues her peaceful promenade while the little boys practice tricks on their ramshackle bicycles.

THE DRIFTER

Contributors to this Issue

GEORGE P. WEST, formerly connected with the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, and later special assistant to Joint Chairman Manly of the War Labor Board, is one of the best informed students of American labor politics.

LELAND OLDS, formerly instructor in economic history at Amherst College, and later a member of the staff of the War Labor Board, is at present doing journalistic work in New York.

WILLIAM H. SCHEIFLEY is assistant professor of French in Indiana University. He has published a volume on "Brieux and Contemporary French Society" (1917).

Literature

Recent Poetry

- The Other Side.* By Gilbert Frankau. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Counter-Attack.* By Siegfried Sassoon. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company.
- A Family Album.* By Alter Brody. New York: B. W. Huebsch.
- The Ghetto.* By Lola Ridge. New York: B. W. Huebsch.
- Gargoyles.* By Howard Mumford Jones. Boston: The Cornhill Company.
- Poems of New England and Old Spain.* By Frederick E. Pierce. Boston: The Four Seas Company.
- Lanterns in Gethsemane.* By Willard Wattles. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company.
- Before Dawn.* By Irene Rutherford McLeod. New York: B. W. Huebsch.

WHEN poetry meets war, it does as it does with other things—it first chooses between recording what it sees and what it feels, and perhaps then passes on to interpret. Only there is this difference: poetry does not, as a rule, really *see war*. It sees the soldiers going forth, and those who await them at home; it stands among both mourners and triumphers in the processions of those who come back; and out of these experiences it commonly weaves its fabric. Occasionally, however, a poet descends into the veritable struggle, and resolves to represent it in what his publisher will probably call its "grim, stark reality." He may even be driven to protest against more conventional interpretations of war, on grounds of either realism or social doctrine. Mr. Gilbert Frankau, though in poems written early in the Great War he had celebrated the guns with something of heroic idealization, has now joined the ranks of the protestants. Having been satiated with war-verse written "to please the idiots at home," he prepares a savage counter-irritant, of which the serious purpose is set forth in these lines:

"Lord, if I'd half your brains, I'd write a book:
None of your sentimental platitudes,
But something real, vital; that should strip
The glamour from this outrage we call war,
Showing it naked, hideous, stupid, vile—
One vast abomination. So that they
Who, coming after, till the ransomed fields
Where our lean corpses rotted in the ooze,
Reading my written words, should understand
This stark stupendous horror, visualize
The unutterable foulness of it all."

Such an aim may be admitted to be honorable, though one might question whether its accomplishment should not preferably be entrusted to prose. The complaint which may be made, however, of Mr. Frankau's verses is not of their deliberate repulsiveness, but of a certain lack of fundamental seriousness of penetrative power which one feels almost everywhere. It is the mere sensations on which he depends to horrify; and we find the obverse of this in the mere sensations with which he represents the more attractive side of his story. He has conceived, for the rewards of valor, a beery Valhalla-heaven, where gory warriors receive cigarette fags world without end, and utter—between puffs—a kind of thwacking, bastard-Kipling chant of verse. One would almost prefer the crowns and harps of sacred doggerel. In contrast with the hollowness of these experiments are those of Mr. Sassoon—equally grim, even more cynical, but full of the inner significance of the dark theme which he is concerned to interpret. One may not like his deliberately cruel irony; one may not see why the usual, no doubt more or less fatuous, pieties and consolations of people at home should be reviled by the soldier any more than the more or less fatuous talk of the soldier by his "impotent old friends"; but there is no doubt that Mr. Sassoon does his work not merely with trenchancy but with

some sense of values. Not to seek out a less typical because more agreeable example, take this on "Suicide in the Trenches":

"I knew a simple soldier boy
Who grinned at life in empty joy,
Slept soundly through the lonesome dark,
And whistled early with the lark.

"In winter trenches, cowed and glum,
With crumps and lice and lack of rum,
He put a bullet through his brain;
No one spoke of him again.

"You smug-faced crowds with kindling eye
Who cheer when soldier lads march by,
Sneak home and pray you'll never know
The hell where youth and laughter go."

The volumes by Alter Brody and Miss Ridge make a second pair, this time quite apart from war. The poems of these writers are more or less salient and arresting examples of a type which is rapidly becoming as conventional as the conventions against which it rebels; in value they certainly exceed the average of their kind. The type is one which might almost be reduced to a formula, if such a thing should be desired for the guidance of an initiate. First, forsake the out-of-doors and the other traditional haunts of poetic beauty; take the city, and especially its most repellent quarters, as a place where human contact is closest and the welter of its common life may be felt most keenly. Compose primarily by accumulation of strokes, like a painter, not like one who writes sentences organized primarily for definite thinking; begin, then, if possible, not with a predication, but with a descriptive phrase ("Drab discoloration of faces") or an exclamation ("Queer!"). Let the mood vary swiftly and takingly, touching almost the whole gamut of feeling *except* the purely simple—love of what is commonly thought lovely, or admiration of what is commonly thought good. Be not sparing of imaginative similes, but choose those that bite, from a sense of individuality and a prevalent turn for the grotesque: "folds of cheek and chin like a well-washed hog," old houses "like dry-breasted hags," the Bowery "throbbing like a fistula," or a fountain "slobbering its stone basin." In the representation of youth and middle age include many touches of the sensual, viewing it as an unforgettable primitive aspect of the children of Adam; and for old age try for a sketch or two in the manner of Rodin's "Celle qui fut Heaulmière." Be quick to develop sympathy for the group, or for the submerged individual; but show no reverence for any representative of constituted authority or of ancient faith: if a policeman come by, you may thrust out the tongue; if you pass a cathedral, turn the nose up at "the stench of decayed superstitions." Finally, free or disappearing rhythm goes without saying. The points of this formula are by no means bad; they have elements of strength and significance vital especially for the present moment. But it is also true that they are pretty easy, and that they are rapidly—as we have hinted—becoming as hackneyed as the old loves and doves and hopes of heaven. Mr. Brody's and Miss Ridge's poems conform to the type pretty generally, but if they did nothing more we should not call attention to them. They do all the things we have outlined—do them decidedly well—and in addition convey an impression of intensity of experience which tends to make these things exert the power of poetry as distinct from the powers of keen observation and clever phrasing. In this regard Mr. Brody's poems are the better. He himself, in an interesting "Soliloquy of a Realist," speaks of the difficulty of treating common life in terms of beauty:

"You need steeled sight;
An obstinacy of vision that melts the hard edge of
things like compressed fire
And fuses them into beauty."

And that is what he occasionally obtains. For instance, in the sketch called "Ma":

"I have an impelling desire to understand her;
 To know and get nearer to her—
 This tired-faced woman who is my mother.
 I wish I could get into her bowed head
 As she bends over the washtub,
 And look through her dimmed eyes
 And see how things seem to her
 After fifty-seven years of life—
 Fifty-seven years of the great commonplaces of life."

There is a personal note here, it will be observed, which provides something of the quality of veritable lyric, despite the form; and the form Mr. Brody explains (in the poem on realism from which we have already quoted) by means of an interesting metaphor. Rhythm, he tells us, is a garment in which life sometimes veils itself; hence breaks in rhythm are rifts through which one may glimpse life's "dissonant soul." This seems to be a pretty sound notion; only does it not imply that the rift shall be more or less occasional, rather than ubiquitous? Whereas Mr. Brody is disposed to find—or make—so many rifts in the garment that one would not care even to offer it to the Red Cross. We do not find in Miss Ridge's poems, as we have hinted, so fine a sense of intense personal experience as in the "Family Album"; sometimes they suggest a parlor reading on the part of one who has been studying the slums. But there are some vivid scenes, and some penetrating interpretations of American labor. Note also this significant bit of allegorical insurgency:

"When Art goes bounding, lean,
 Up hill-tops fired green,
 To pluck a rose for life,—
 Life like a broody hen
 Cluck-clucks him back again.

"But when Art, imbecile,
 Sits old and chill
 On sidings shaven clean,
 And counts his clustering
 Dead daisies on a string
 With witless laughter,—
 Then like a new Jill
 Toiling up a hill
 Life scrambles after."

Mr. Howard Mumford Jones rightly entitles his entire collection "Gargoyles," having been touched to poetic thought most of all by life's incongruities. One sees this even in the wholly serious poems, like the interesting sonnet sequence called "The Mother," in which a woman waits to see the bride of her only son: she who has been through Gethsemane for her offspring now sits waiting "at the depot for the train at three." There is a fine sense, here, of the crude pathos of such an anti-climax. But the execution, unfortunately, is not equal to the conception, and this is true of the bulk of the volume. It is, however, a live, thought-breeding group of poems, genuinely American in its blend of good-humored observation, with gusts of sympathetic or cynical reflectiveness.

Professor Frederick Pierce's "Poems of New England" are also soundly American, though in contrast almost every way with the middle-Western wanderings of Mr. Jones's Muse. They are also Wordsworthian—not imitatively, but in repeating precisely the effort which Wordsworth made to convey the relation of man to rural nature and to find a medium for doing so which should be of the *vulgar* but not vulgar. The incident of the building of "The First Hay-Stack" would have warmed the heart of the poet of Cumberland, and the sketch called "Father and Son" is spiritually akin to "Michael." There is a quiet interpretation of the uneventful in these poems, and a refusal to turn aside from the straight path for sources of special intensity, which might well exert a "healing power" today. And yet—and yet, the intensity, the thrill, must come sooner or later, if the work is to be memorable; and in the want of this Mr. Pierce is more than Wordsworthian.

"Lanterns in Gethsemane" is again reminiscent, to one who cares for such analogies, but this time it is of William Blake. Listen to this, and inquire whether it can have come out of Kansas:

"For God had grown so lonely
 On his throne,
 He put his staff on his shoulder
 And set off alone;
 Among the scornful brambles
 He laid his head on a stone.

"Mary bore the daisies
 Home in her two hands,
 Daisies of white petals
 For all the lonely lands,
 That will not fade or vanish
 While the arch of Heaven stands."

Mr. Wattles, as he tells us in his preface, has wrought out for himself a faith; indeed, he gives his creed in some detail, and for those concerned with his theology it is doubtless interesting. But, as commonly, for the poetry the preface is negligible. The verse is exceedingly uneven, as if dropped casually from the pen; it is sometimes boyishly crude in rhythm, in imagery, and in borrowed phrasing (two successive lines, on page 18, crib from Milton and Kipling respectively—with plenty of catholicity!); but it has often a simple vitality like a child's face, and sometimes a transparent glow like a flame. The Incarnation has an ever-recurring way of catching up the heart of some poet of each new generation, whatever his theology, and setting him to new spellings of its meaning; and this is what Mr. Wattles has found. One of the finest examples of the lyrical effect of his faith is his epilogue, "Have I been so long time with you?"; but we choose to quote from a poem called "Out of the Desert":

"Out of this little and this nothingness
 I will build slowly what cannot be effaced;
 There shall come sound of iron hammers ringing
 And groining arches like fingers interlaced;
 Each youth a king who walks the common kingdom,
 Clad in the seamless robe, with lifted head;
 Each girl a queen, love's roses in her bosom,
 Walking beside him with an equal tread.
 I will set song upon the lips of singers
 Who slumber still uncalled from out the dust;
 I will light fires upon unnumbered altars,
 Love shall be honest, justice shall be just. . . .
 About my loins I gird a sword that flashes
 With lightnings hidden in the marching cloud;
 I break above your heads the awful tablets,
 And fling the fragments to the wheeling crowd.
 Out of such sowing shall come mighty reaping,—
 Hearts are the fields, and songs the seed I sow:
 Ye shall not know until the time of reaping
 What hand upheld me, but I know, I know!"

Miss McLeod, in each of her volumes, defies the critic who wishes a single text set for his sermon; for she persists in doing a number of different things and in doing them very well. The collection called "Before Dawn" includes a series of love lyrics that rise from the conditions of the war, a sonnet sequence also interpreting love from the woman's side, a dramatic poem (timeless and placeless), a number of independent lyrics, and a narrative monologue in what may be called the Masefield manner. None of these is ill conceived or ill accomplished; yet one wishes the number were fewer, that both poet and reader might somehow be led to greater concentration of powers. Our interest, after hovering gently over certain of the lyrics but refusing to alight, settled down decisively upon the monologue called "Maggie Winwood," and there remains. This poem begins casually, and with nothing of sailent interest or beauty, and grows upon the reader precisely as does an occasional narrative from an unpromising fellow-traveller in the train, rising at the

end to a genuine tragic climax which is all the better for avoiding any such crude catastrophe as one would have looked for. Moreover, it is a remarkably successful study in one of the chief problems of poetry in our time—how to attain a speech which will give the effect of common talk and at the same time accomplish the full poetic function. Mr. Pierce refers to this problem in the brief preface to his "Poems of New England," and says very truly that "the following of the vernacular can be carried too far," because it is *mood*, not actual phrase, which the narrator must work toward. Mr. Masefield made a brilliant sally at the solution in "The Everlasting Mercy," and by means of some of his subsequent poems has helped to teach others this difficult art of poetic-realistic speech. Now comes Miss McLeod, with another singularly happy experiment, which it is to be hoped may augur still further progress in the same direction. We cannot exemplify the leisurely colloquialism, carried on with short-interval rhymes which, instead of hampering, seem rather to intensify the natural chatter of the old man who is talking; but we shall quote a few lines from the point where he leaves the lower levels, reproducing his granddaughter's tragic eloquence at the moment of sending her lover away. Incidentally these lines express a philosophy which might, in some sense, be held to harmonize the diverse contents of Miss McLeod's entire volume.

"You don't know love! No, love has sight
For beauty's spirit burning bright
When bodies change, as bodies must,
Like everything that's made from dust.
This living dust of me and you
Was made to speak our spirits through,
For souls are dumb and cannot say
Their love except through forms of clay,
And that man's blind who cannot trace
God's image in another's face;
But he who sees the clay alone
Is left with withered flesh and bone,
And beauty soon goes out for him
Who never truly saw it, Jim.
You've never seen *me*: we always missed
Each other, even when we kissed."

Here is an old form of Platonism, drifting down strangely, but with its ancient beauty unspoiled, in the spontaneous talk of the English countryside.

French Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature

Mystique et Réalistes Anglo-Saxons d'Emerson à Bernard Shaw.
Par Régis Michaud. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin.

PROFESSOR MICHAUD'S excellent translation of Emerson's "Journal" and his long residence in this country are advance guarantees of the interesting nature of the group of essays, not all closely related to one another, that he has now brought together. He has attempted to reveal what is most original and intimate in the Anglo-Saxon spirit as exemplified by nine writers whom he regards as typical representatives of the main movement of mind in English and American literature to-day and in the immediate past. The writers whom he selects are Emerson, Pater, Whitman, Henry James, Mark Twain, Jack London, Upton Sinclair, Mrs. Wharton, and Bernard Shaw. The choice is curious; and we are inclined to wish that the two English writers had been omitted from consideration and their place occupied by two more Americans—Hawthorne, for example, and possibly one of the contemporary poets whose work is now being much discussed. The book would then have been exclusively a study of the American spirit as revealed in our literature, the subject upon which Professor Michaud's residence here best fits him to write. The thread of connection between the several essays is often slight. The premise from which the general argument proceeds (though in the later essays

this is not very apparent) is that in the Anglo-Saxon nature there is an intermingling of mysticism and rationalism, of intuition on the one hand and of intelligence on the other, and that (though Professor Michaud does not definitely say as much) in this nature, to a greater degree than in that of other peoples, there is the recognition that the mysteries of this unintelligible world are not all to be solved by logical processes. Even in those essays in which the theme of mysticism versus rationalism ceases to be apparent there is a tendency to analyze in a dualistic fashion. Thus he opposes Mrs. Wharton's coldly objective studies of cosmopolitan life to that writer's own later career as a war-worker in France; he traces beneath the humor of Mark Twain the profound Swiftian pessimism which he could have emphasized more forcefully had he known "The Mysterious Stranger."

The best example of the writer's method of analysis is the essay on Walter Pater, in which the pagan and mystical side of the Oxford "aesthete's" work is illustrated abundantly. The attraction of the theme of the "fallen gods" to Pater, a theme that occurs much more often in his writings than Professor Michaud indicates, is explained as symbolic of the conflict between Pater's Hellenistic and ecclesiastical proclivities. There is recognition of the fact that to Pater the whole world is an extension of his own ego, and full use is made of the amount of thinly disguised biography in his work; but there is no caution against the thoroughly false interpretation of history and art that often results from Pater's subjective theory of criticism. The connection between this essay and that on Emerson, with which the book opens, is the interest in Montaigne shown by Pater. The study of Emerson is limited to an exhaustive account of the influence of Montaigne upon him, both in the fundamental theories of the latter's "Essays" and in such particular lines of thought as Emerson's views upon friendship, education, the function of books, history, and "representative men." Though various points of contrast are recognized, the intimate alliance between the two philosophers is upheld; as through Plato Emerson drew upon antique philosophy and through Goethe he obtained the secret of uniting art and nature, science and poetry, so through contact with Montaigne there was effected something of a synthesis of the mystical puritanism of New England and the humanism of the French Renaissance. The connection between this essay and that on Whitman is found both in the fact that Emerson was one of the earliest to give recognition to Whitman and in the fact that Whitman, according to Professor Michaud, is the realization of the ideal national poet portrayed in the essay on "The Poet" as one who would use the forms of poetry not for the sake of the forms but for the life expressed in them. Whitman's philosophy of nature, his nationalism and sympathy with "foiled European revolutionaries," the patriotic poems of "Drum Taps," and his art are studied with sympathy and insight.

The remaining essays are perhaps less noteworthy. Henry James is considered as an artist who, working with simple data, constructed thereupon the complexities and cross-influences of character, and who manipulated the personages of his novels from the point of view of the intellect, suppressing, as Meredith did not, all lyricism and all epigram, and expending his subtlety less upon problems of manners than upon problems of thought. Jack London is seen as the representative of American energy, having something in common with Whitman and more with Nietzsche, and expressing the taste for danger and the sense of adventure that Professor Michaud finds peculiarly Anglo-Saxon. The widespread and significant popularity of his revolutionary romances in Russia on the eve of the Revolution of 1917 is noted. The social theories of Upton Sinclair are studied in his novels. We are inclined to think that the writer puts too high an estimate upon the value of these ephemerality; at most the writings of London and Sinclair can hardly be regarded in the future as more than "documents pour servir à l'histoire de notre temps." But in these essays, as throughout the book, there is evidence of wide reading and shrewd thinking.

New Books About Spiritualism

Christopher. By Sir Oliver Lodge. New York: George H. Doran Company.

Claude's Book. By Mrs. Kelway-Bamber. New York: Henry Holt & Company.

What Is This Spiritualism? By Horace Leaf. New York: George H. Doran Company.

Spiritualism: Its History, Phenomena, and Doctrine. By J. Arthur Hill. New York: George H. Doran Company.

THE first two of the volumes in the present group are, in some sense, companion studies to Sir Oliver Lodge's "Raymond." Of these two, the new book by Sir Oliver himself is described in the sub-title as "a study in personality." It is, however, much more than that, or it would not have been worth writing. It is, rather, a message of consolation to the thousands of women who, like Christopher Tennant's mother, lost their boys in the recent conflict. Sir Oliver himself has been through Mrs. Tennant's experience, and he has, as he firmly believes, refound his Raymond. Mrs. Tennant has, as yet, had no word from Christopher. Nor does she think it essential that she should. Both she and Christopher were firmly convinced of the reality of survival, and between them there was no compact in regard to communication after death. Of such compacts Sir Oliver says: "I say nothing against them, they are natural enough, but they are most appropriate when made between people torn with the agony of doubt, eager to be convinced, seeking for a sign." Not such were Mrs. Tennant and her son. Firm in their faith, they felt that "a sense of communion might well come hereafter, after an interval perhaps not long; but meanwhile it was determined that, whatever opportunities for communication might in due time follow, they need not be hurried, that nothing need interfere with the happy and peaceful readjustment of existence to the new and for a time strange condition." The book, which consists of biography, letters, and other matter pertinent to its subject, will be of interest to such as desire to know what effect a firm belief in survival after death had on a normal English boy.

As contrasted with the case of Mrs. Tennant and Christopher, Mrs. Kelway-Bamber and her son were not believers in survival, and it was only in the longing and anguish caused by Claude's death that his mother turned her attention to spiritualism. Mrs. Bamber's book embodies a long series of communications purporting to come from her son. They consist largely of alleged descriptions of life beyond the grave, and agree in the main with other previously published "revelations" of the same character. Besides these accounts of his everyday life in the beyond, Claude is rather prone to the delivering of disquisitions on eschatological and kindred subjects—which may constitute one reason for the rather cautious tone of the "foreword" contributed by Sir Oliver Lodge.

In the immense mass of literature that has been appearing of late on the subject of spiritualism, the question posited on the title-page of Mr. Leaf's "What Is This Spiritualism?" has been frequently and fully answered, and Mr. Leaf's particular phrasing of the answer need not detain us here. Much more interesting is his account of the experiences which converted him from skepticism to belief in survival and other claims of the spiritualists. The experiences related in the chapter headed "Why I Became a Spiritualist" include several involving cross-correspondence, which are so difficult to explain on any but a psychic basis. Mr. Leaf is a firm believer in the practical utility of such experiments as those of Dr. W. J. Crawford in levitation, even if it should be proved that the phenomena referred to are not of psychic origin. On this point he says: "Supposing these wonderful happenings are not brought about by the action of disembodied spirits, even then new and wonderful aspects of natural law have undoubtedly been brought to light through the agency of psychics. These new aspects of natural law may yet prove more valuable to humanity than any yet known."

In Mr. Leaf's book the prevailing note is the personal one. Mr. Hill, on the other hand, devotes considerable space to the history of the spiritualist movement, which involves the threshing of a good deal of old straw. An interesting chapter is that in which he describes the labors of the Society for Psychical Research, of which he says in part: "The S. P. R. has no creed. It exists for investigation. It has been attacked and continues to be attacked, from many sides; it has to bear, in Myers's phrase, 'the floundering platitudes of obscurantist orthodoxy' and the 'smug sneers of popular science, belittling what it will not try to understand.'" But, as Mr. Hill cheerfully adds: "It goes on its way, and perhaps most of its members perceive a certain humor in the alliance of Roman Catholics like Father Vaughan, High Anglicans like Lord Halifax, and Rationalists like Mr. Clodd, not one of whom has any considerable first-hand knowledge, and all with one accord assailing those who have."

The Solemn Game

Wild Youth and Another. By Sir Gilbert Parker. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company.

The Desert of Wheat. By Zane Grey. New York: Harper and Brothers.

NOTHING could be further from the realities, not, let us say, of experience but of creative dreaming, than the greater part of Sir Gilbert Parker's fiction. Once, in "When Valmond Came to Pontiac," he produced a nearly perfect story of its artificial kind: as a golfer who always "presses" may once in a lifetime get away straight down the course and fetch the green. But most of his romances seem painfully contrived out of commonplace materials. To lovers of an art based upon nature they are like a lot of brightly colored, chemically scented wax flowers stuck about in the garden. Yet there are plenty of people who admire them, to whom in some mysterious way they represent beauty as the flower of the field doth not. Sir Gilbert Parker, Zane Grey—such writers have great followings who look to them hopefully for some quickening of the pulse or lift of the heart not to be had elsewhere. What does it mean? What is it in this kind of work that makes it of moment to so many readers? It means first of all that the story-teller has something to offer that he believes in. When, a year or two ago, a collected edition of Sir Gilbert Parker's novels was issued, one found in it a series of prefaces attesting to the writer's genuine belief in the artistic integrity and importance of his work. His readers take him seriously because he takes himself seriously. He is able to use the shabbiest of old romantic lumber, the most rickety of stage machinery, the crudest of lighting arrangements, and, through sheer faith in his inspiration, build something Parkerians will accept as living drama. He accepts it. The nature and human nature we find in "Wild Youth" and its companion story are such as we find in melodrama and movie—they successfully embody the vulgar ideal: of goodness and badness, of motive and conduct. And that ideal is always "Victorian"; let the Georgians not dream that they have smashed it. Victorianism in the Bush has been from the beginning Sir Gilbert Parker's working theme: self-conscious masculine sacrifice, self-conscious feminine chastity, Mrs. Grundy always recognized and placated—how marvelous to find them, with Sir Gilbert, in the wilds of Canada as the other day we found them, with Tennyson, at Camelot! People quite roughly dressed and housed, speaking in, or after, various dialects—and yet as golden of mouth and heart, as gingerly with the moral virtues, as anybody you could ask to see on the stage!

The necessary thing for this kind of commodity, for making it or taking it, is a total lack or abeyance of humor. Sir Gilbert Parker always has a good deal of dialogue marked "humorous." There is a comic Irishman in "Wild Youth" who is, we gather, loudly roared at whenever he opens his mouth in Askatoon. There is also a "Young Doctor" whose slow and deadly facetiousness is labelled "dry wit." But of the humor that pervades, and checks, and illumines, there is none. Of living action, conse-

quently, as of living characterization, there is none. So much the better, says (subconsciously) the vulgar ideal: that leaves us free to play with our favorite types, and situations, and notions. We may start here with a Mr. and Mrs. Joel Mazarine: the virgin-hearted wife, tied by duty but not by nature; the ancient and gorilla-like husband gloating over the youth and beauty that are his by law. We may set them upon a ranch not too far from the frontier town of Askatoon. We may now add Romeo in the person of a neighboring and unattached young rancher; and with a "Young Doctor" to serve as nurse, confidant, and chorus, we bid fair to make out very well, especially with a Chinese avenger to take the gorilla off our hands when we have made the young pair struggle with their blameless passion long enough. The second story, "Jordan is a Hard Road," is a story of the criminal who "comes back." With a notorious safe-cracker and train-robber for hero, a grown daughter for whose sake he reforms and who must never, never know his real relation to her, and a nice young man who apparently knows not to crack either a safe or a smile, and is therefore worthy of her, we are comfortably equipped for the usual enterprise. At the end of it we prove once more that pathos did not die with Little Nell. "So it was that when the end came suddenly, and the knowledge of its coming spread in Bill Minden's mind like a flash of flame, he half drew himself up, and with a last flicker of light through his glazing eyes towards Cora, who sat beside his bed, he whispered, 'Could you kiss me, little gal?'"

According to the *Bookman's* latest statement, "The Desert of Wheat" is among the novels most in demand at the public libraries, the country over. Zane Grey's formula and method are much the same as Sir Gilbert Parker's. He is less inclined to eloquence and more to sentimentousness; his color and gesture are less theatrical. For better or worse he has it in mind to interpret certain aspects of American life. He seemed to be on the track of such an interpretation in "The U. P. Trail"; but the movie-habit got the better of him, and we lost sight of the panoramic scene because the spotlight focused itself permanently on the gesticulating figures in the foreground. "The Desert of Wheat" tries to do several things—and is moderately successful in merging them in a single action. It wishes to bring before the imagination the immense part the wheat-country has played and must play in the destiny of the world, to interpret the effect of the war on the German-American, and to tell a love-story. This writer has a pictorial sense of no mean quality. His opening landscape, a great stretch of gently rolling land, a waving patchwork of huge fields fallow and fields green, an open treasure-house at the mercy of fire and drought, enslaving men that mankind may be fed—this picture lingers in the mind: nobody has so painted just that scene. With the appearance of human figures, the impression dwindles. For here again we have the substitution of conventional types and situations for those fluid things, character and action. And by the familiar paradox, the more set these figures are as types, the more vague they are as persons. We recognize the formula of the old German-American, the father, who half a century ago left Germany for a freer land, yet somehow remains German in will and sympathy; and the formula of the son who feels American, and is eager to defend his country; and the formula of the genial American magnate who wishes everybody and everything well, including his own pocket; and the formula of the lovely daughter whom he never denies anything, even the (German-American) husband of her choice. If we like to admire the cleverness of a demonstrator in setting these formulæ on a board, we may be satisfied with the present demonstration. In due time, of course, the youth goes forth to fight for America, the old father is converted, and a voice breathes o'er the (at least temporary) Eden which has been and shall be a desert of wheat—when the youth comes home. Absence of humor, a kind of ardent solemnity in playing the game of romantic make-believe, is the keynote of this very popular American book, also. Yet we are fond of thinking that the Germans have a monopoly of that kind of nonsense.

Books in Brief

THE past twenty years have given us a new view of history.

Formerly, historical writers and students rarely stepped far from the beaten track of political, military, and biographical narrative. Rulers, diplomats, parliaments, battles, treaties, statutes—these marched in stately array through the pages of the books. Of thought, invention, literature, art, education, social relationships, business, trade—the stuff of which human life is chiefly made—little or nothing was said; the common man was almost wholly lost to view. The new history seeks to remedy this. It does not ignore the personal, political, and military factors; but it puts them in their proper places, and it brings to the fore the social, economic, and intellectual elements which have been so long neglected. It corrects the perspective, and makes the record of the past square with the actual course of human progress. The fact that is most agreeable to record is that this vital, human, fruitful view of history is fast getting into the textbooks used in our colleges and secondary schools. For this we have chiefly a group of scholars and teachers at Columbia University to thank; and the most recent addition to the list of college texts written upon the new principle is the work of a professor of history who received his training from this group. Professor J. Salwyn Schapiro's "Modern and Contemporary European History" (Houghton Mifflin) goes, indeed, beyond any of its predecessors in the emphasis placed upon social and cultural subjects. Although it begins nominally with the close of the eighteenth century, two-thirds of the space is devoted to developments since 1870; and the topics taken up include not only labor movements, agrarian problems, the advances made in the sciences, inventions, and the woman's movement, but the great and representative achievements in literature. Political history in the narrower sense is subordinated. Yet through his extended and excellent discussions of such subjects as the separation of Church and State in France, the growth of the German social democracy, the Russian revolutionary movements of the twentieth century, and the rivalries of the nations for extra-European territory and markets, the author manages to portray the realities and fundamentals of European politics with a high degree of success. Political history is made the more vivid and significant because the surface manifestations are linked with the motive forces, the deeper issues, the ramified causes and effects. There are several well-made maps; and a critical bibliography, although brief, adds to the value of the book.

TO judge from the number of books written about Philadelphia, that city must have an insatiable appetite for reading about itself. In his "Book of Philadelphia" (Penn Company) Mr. Robert Shackleton has added another to the series, but nothing to Philadelphians' knowledge of their town. Mr. Shackleton shows the diligence of the well-trained compiler, and also the well-trained compiler's reluctance to give credit where credit is due. For all evidence to the contrary, history, dates, tales, and traditions of other days come to him by inspiration, not by reading and research. Possibly there are many who like this sort of compilation, and Mr. Shackleton caters for them by dragging in, on the slightest provocation, stories about anything and everything, no matter how much or little they may have to do with his subject. Talk of Philadelphia art and artists leads to talk of Whistler, who never was in Philadelphia in his life; because Thackeray visited Philadelphia, anecdotes that have nothing to do with Philadelphia must be told; because Fulton was born near Philadelphia we must have equally irrelevant Fulton anecdotes; and so chapter after chapter can be filled for lovers of light reading. But light reading is likely to mean easy writing, and we gather that Mr. Shackleton's study of Philadelphia has not been very deep. Certainly, the native's confidence will be shaken when he comes to references to the Quaker's "shad-breasted" coat and to Walt Whitman with "a

broad Quaker hat on his head" (anything more unlike the Quaker's hat than Whitman's cannot well be imagined); or when he reads descriptions of old Philadelphia as "burnt orange" in color, or of Camac Street with fronts and shutters of blue or yellow, red or gray, saffron or pink. These are trifles, it may be, but it is the accumulation of trifles that gives Philadelphia its character and makes it so different from any other town in the country or, for that matter, in the world.

COVERING the record of the American family from the Civil War to the present in a little more than 300 pages, Mr. Arthur W. Calhoun brings to a close his three-volume history of the domestic life and institutions in this country, "A Social History of the American Family" (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co.). The bibliography for this period fills twenty-five pages, and the variety of quotations is enormous. Indeed, whole chapters are composed of excerpts from books, pamphlets, magazine and newspaper articles, Government reports, social "surveys," and so on, well arranged but nevertheless leaving an impression of imperfect digestion. The author has faced two difficult problems: the problem of selecting from a perfectly appalling mass of facts and theories in source-material those significant for historical record, and the problem of reaching his own conclusions as an historian concerning the general trend in a field in which there has been infinite quarrelling over "trends." Race suicide, woman's education, divorce, relations between Negroes and whites as they affect the family, early versus late marriages, "patriarchism," the old-fashioned home versus the communal life, the desirability of change in the child's position—these are but part of the subjects falling within the bounds of this book. As a source of information, the volume is satisfactory and in some parts admirable. The feat of condensing into twelve pages all the probable facts concerning miscegenation in the South, and into thirty-two pages not only the salient facts concerning the revolution in woman's world but the major conflicting views concerning it, is almost accomplished here. But the book lacks, even more than the two preceding instalments, a satisfactorily complete body of original historical conclusions by the author. He, moreover, accepts, as before, evidence that seems biased, sensational, or otherwise untrustworthy. Especially does he seem to err in treating as significant for all classes evidence that appears to apply only to the very poor, or the giddily fashionable, or to other distinct bodies. There is some hasty generalization of his own, and some assent to hasty generalization by others. But the work opens up a new field historically, and for all its shortcomings it is suggestive and valuable.

IN his "foreword" to "The Pronunciation of Standard English in America" (Oxford University Press), Mr. George Philip Krapp notes ingenuously the very real difficulty involved in the fact that, strictly speaking, no such thing as American standard speech exists. The expression must therefore be used in a restricted sense if the subject is to be discussed intelligently. This the author does by defining the word "standard" negatively as "the speech which is least likely to attract attention to itself as being peculiar to any one class or locality." And he adds: "As a matter of fact, speech does not often attract notice to itself unless it is markedly peculiar. . . . In consequence there is likely to be, even in what we may justly call standard speech, a considerable area of negligible variation, negligible, that is, from the point of view of the practical use of language." The book is, indeed, more interesting and valuable from a philosophical than from a strictly practical point of view. Here there are no lists of "mispronunciations"—most of which are not mispronunciations at all—such as are all too common in a certain class of handbook. Says Mr. Krapp: "Whenever a question of choice between two pronunciations arises, there is rarely any difficulty in making a choice after the facts are once known. It is the province of a book like this to show students how they may become sure of their facts, not to make their choice for

them." To the student of phonetics, the long chapter on "The Description of Sounds" will be of chief interest, while others will prefer the following chapter containing practical applications of the foregoing principles. The phonetic transcriptions at the end of the book are enlightening and suggestive.

SHORTLY before M. Poincaré was elected to the presidency of France he wrote a little book describing the origins and workings of the principal political institutions of his country. The book was intended for use in schools, and accordingly was somewhat elementary, both in manner of presentation and in the range of subjects discussed. On account of the fact, however, that, by curious circumstances, there was not (and is not yet) any brief and trustworthy book in English on the French system of government, a translation of M. Poincaré's volume was promptly prepared by Mr. Bernard Miall, under the title, "How France is Governed." An American edition was brought out; and that being exhausted, a new one, without substantial changes, has lately been placed on the market (McBride, Nast). M. Poincaré is a scholar as well as a statesman, and it goes without saying that in its larger features his book is accurate and informing. The volume is not, however, without obvious limitations. The most serious of these arises from the nature of the audience to which it was addressed. While we may hardly hope that a government textbook of the same degree of advancement would be within the comprehension of American students fifteen or sixteen years of age, it naturally happens that the volume bears evidence throughout of having been "written down" to its readers. There are numerous omissions that would not occur in a book intended for maturer students. Furthermore, the work of translation has been none too well done, and the author's language is often made to appear obscure. Finally, there are some minor inaccuracies that ought to have been corrected in the new edition. Teachers and students of political science would welcome from the author, after he shall have laid aside the cares of public office, a substantial single-volume treatise on a subject in which few, if any, living men are better informed.

IN these troubled days the question is often asked: "What in the name of Heaven is a perfect State?" There is no answer which would not be destroyed by its own exceptions and qualifications. But vaguely we can point to certain small nations which show such an absolute balance of intellectual and economic forces that they approach the ideal of the greatest good to the greatest number of people. Denmark is among the very first of these, and it is the charm of Mr. Shaw Desmond's "The Soul of Denmark" (Scribners) that he has brought us some concrete knowledge about the small kingdom, with its happy population, its thorough school-system, and its unsurpassed measure of rural coöperation. Amidst the clamorings of two-score new and untried nationalities, this account of the Danish people affects one as pleasantly as the discovery of a small Italian garden, full of flowers and peace and quiet, hidden behind the high walls of a noisy thoroughfare in modern Rome.

MISS CLARA E. LAUGHLIN'S sketch of "Foch the Man" (Revell) displays a grasp of military strategy unusual in one of the author's sex, together with a sympathetic reading of character not so unusual. After some exercise of the imagination in reconstructing the great general's early life from scanty data, the writer presents clearly and briefly the later and crowning achievement of her hero—a hero whom she admits to have worshipped only from afar, though she has had nearer approach to those who have enjoyed the privilege of close relations with him, and illuminating documentary material has been placed at her disposal. The final impression gained from her vivid sketch is of a supremely patriotic and devoted leader of men, one who never spares himself. A commendatory letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Réquin of the French General Staff precedes the preface.

Art

A Descendant of Balder

CARL LARSSON! With this painter's name come thronging into mind pictures of happy, rollicking children, of gay rooms filled with sunshine and flowers, of a gentle, dark-haired, happy-faced mother who holds a child at her breast like some early Madonna who has for a moment thrown aside her altar conventions in order to be human and to enjoy her baby, or of the same mother seated before a long refectory table surrounded by eager young faces, or of a gayly arrayed group of Swedish folk, young and old, dancing under the birches. These are the joyous impressions left by Carl Larsson's "Haus in der Sonne," through which he is best known in this country. It was in this magic "House in the Sun" at Sundborn, Dalarna, in the Swedish Northland that Carl Larsson found the best expression of his genius.

A harsh and uncomfortable life engulfed his childhood, but of this no trace appears in his work, unless it be in the sombre mysticism and harsh grotesqueness which characterize his first professional painting in Paris. These early works disappointed not only Larsson himself, but his friends and supporters in Sweden as well, and in response to their advice he returned to Sweden to devote himself to the work of illustration. This art had held a low place in the estimation of Swedish painters, but because of the enthusiasm, the untiring effort, and the great beauty of the work of Carl Larsson, Swedish illustration attracted attention abroad and won international favor. Larsson was called the Swedish Doré, but the only point of similarity was the prolific output of the Swede. Larsson's goal, however, lay in another direction, and three years later he was again in Paris determined to continue his career as a painter.

At the Spring Salon of 1883 a few water color landscapes of the region around Fontainebleau attracted much admiration because of their spirit of sunshine and joyousness, in recognition of which the jury presented a gold medal to Carl Larsson. He continued to paint similar subjects for a time and then travelled back to Sweden.

Upon his return, the Swedish people greeted him as a national character, and bestowed upon him commissions for portraits, decorations, and other paintings; but Larsson liked best to wander over the quiet countryside making notes and sketches of the simple peasant people at work and at play. While thus engaged he met and married the lovely Karin Bergöö. Then began an idyllic domestic career, many chapters of which Larsson has depicted in his two books of water-color illustrations, "Ett Hem" and "Andras Barn." It was from these sources that the "House in the Sun" was compiled.

The manner in which Larsson describes his first glimpse of the old spinsters' house, his longing to possess it and transform it into the ideal which it finally became, shows what a man of vision he was. Alert to every latent possibility which the old house possessed, Larsson persuaded the willing but doubting workmen of the village to make a change here, to carve a beam there, to introduce windows, to throw open long-closed doors. Here the village carpenter beheld himself expressed in a hand-hewn beam, the blacksmith outdid himself in the fashioning of a weather vane, and so on throughout the village and countryside; each artisan sought expression in "Artist Larsson's House"; each contributed his share. Shaped by their hands under Larsson's inspiration, the house grew to be their wonderment and pride. Its genial vermilion exterior with painted bands of white and green, from the laughing scherzo on the chimney top to the hand-wrought boot-scraper at the stoop, welcomes one to share the hospitality within. The handiwork of Karin Larsson adorns the interior. Her hand-woven table runners, curtains, and rugs greet the eye of the visitor and gladden him with their fantastic arabesques of color and design.

It was against this background that Larsson painted his wife and children. In these pictures—family portraits chiefly—un-

compromising realism and unconventional arrangement are tempered by loveliness of color and tenderness of conception, which quicken the realization of the spiritual consciousness with which Carl Larsson painted. His draughtsmanship recalls Holbein, his simplicity Giotto, his humor and gayety Franz Hals.

From 1853 to 1919 is not a great space of time. It represents the span of Carl Larsson's life. Just now a shadow hangs over the "House in the Sun," but this ray-crowned Balder had gathered a wealth of geniality and sunshine that even now penetrate the gloom and bear outward to the world his promise of happiness and humanity which shall be ours

"When o'er the present earth and heaven

The tempest of the latter day hath swept."

TOMAS FURLONG

Drama

A Tragedy of Blood

ONE of Frank Stockton's most delightful stories tells of a meek young man who is sent down as a diver to investigate the hold of a long-buried ship. Instead of the treasure he is looking for, he finds nothing but rum kegs, empty but tightly corked. Some accident breaks the tubes connecting him with the steamer above and he survives for several hours by uncorking the kegs one by one, inserting the end of his air tube in the hole and inhaling the oxygen therein. When at last he is brought to the surface an extraordinary change has come over him. Instead of the mild-mannered youth who went down, a swaggering swashbuckler comes up, assumes command of the party, orders his comrades around with swelling oaths, makes himself thoroughly intimidating and objectionable. And all because for the past hours he has been breathing the air of the fifteenth century! It is in much that delightful and exalted mood that we come out of the Plymouth Theatre after seeing "The Jest." We feel like taking longer—and wider—steps through the crowded streets, elbowing our neighbors away with unbridled gesture, kicking aside an innocent old lady who blocks our progress, and showering a volley of stupendous oaths on an offending taxi-driver. For three hours—indeed for three hours and a half—we have been breathing the air of Medicean Florence, and it is an intoxicating draught!

"The Jest" may properly be classified as a "Tragedy of Blood," that robust old form which delighted our Elizabethan ancestors. Its theme is "r-revenge"; it abounds in blood, murder, and lust; it ends in madness; the only traditional element lacking is the ghost. And, what is more, it has much of the sweep, the vitality, and the spontaneity of the earlier men. It has nothing, for example, of D'Annunzio's self-consciousness or morbidity. It is fifteenth-century Florence presented in the rich spirit of the time. The Italians of that century did not write tragedies—they lived them. Blood, intrigue, murder, unbridled passion were too much their daily bread to make good copy. It was left for Elizabethan England, with the perspective of fifty years and half a continent, to paint the canvas for posterity. And now Sem Benelli, over three centuries later, has tapped the same source that so richly fed Kyd, Webster, and Middleton, and apparently with the same delightful freshness of approach. He points no moral, and he avoids the subtler danger of exploiting a past epoch from the superior vantage point of a present. The draught he brews has the richness and color of the earlier men, and it is probably nearer in flavor to the original, for he escapes the unrelated comedy and the sentimentality which are so often out of key in the work of the Englishmen. Moreover, in spite of a strangely prolix and uneven third act, he brings to it the closer-knit technique of the modern playwright.

The play reaches America under extraordinarily favorable auspices. The English adaptation, the authorship of which is suspected but not announced, is admirable, pliant, picturesque,

full of color and rhythm. Indeed at times it is difficult to tell whether it is blank verse, read as prose, or poetic prose, rhythmically cadenced. Prose, we are told; yet much of it undoubtedly scans. The general effect is of poetic richness without monotony. The settings by Robert Edmond Jones are in his best manner. Their sombre depth of color, their sinister and beautiful lighting support the play and the actors with the same constructive harmony that a beautiful accompaniment gives to a song. And the actors with one or two exceptions are worthy of it. As for the Barrymores—they are superb. A better blending of physical and emotional attributes could not be looked for. Lionel impersonates the great bully with astounding vigor, and John's portrayal of the passionate weakling has depth, subtlety, and beauty.

After seeing "The Jest" we are led to wonder what success certain of the Elizabethans would have today if entrusted to such a capable combination of actors, artist, and producer. We should like to see "The Changeling" have its chance again, or "The White Devil," or even "Women, Beware Women." Purged of their grotesque comedy, would they not have much of the same appeal—picturesqueness, poetic quality, and untrammelled emotion?

T. H.

Finance

Financing the Railways

LEADING bankers and Government officials have been in conference, concerning the best means of raising \$500,000,000 for the railways to meet obligations maturing by July 1 next. These maturities include \$100,000,000 due on May 1, \$100,000,000 on June 1, and about \$300,000,000 on June 30 and July 1. The roads under Government control must have these funds in hand in order to meet their pressing needs.

Through the assistance granted by the War Finance Corporation, about \$200,000,000 will be available, which leaves a balance of \$300,000,000 which the bankers are trying to provide for. They have indicated to the Railroad Administration that with the immense financing required by the flotation of the great Victory Loan, it will be necessary for the Government to shoulder the responsibility of financing the roads until the close of the fiscal year at least. The bankers are ready to help the roads with the May 1 maturities, but they feel that the Government authorities must provide them with whatever funds are needed during June and July. Under these circumstances it is scarcely probable that an attempt will be made to organize a country-wide pool to help the roads out of the predicament in which they found themselves when Congress adjourned without appropriating the \$750,000,000 required for the so-called revolving fund.

The railways are making a poor showing with reference to earnings, and their indebtedness is naturally increasing. In February, a deficit of \$37,000,000 on operation was reported. Almost the same amount was disclosed by the January return. Under these circumstances, it is natural that the bankers should adopt a conservative attitude about assuming the responsibility of financing the roads during the readjustment period. In various quarters, there has been a demand for the calling of a special session of Congress to provide the necessary legislation and sufficient appropriations to tide the roads over a difficult period.

It is unfortunate that the War Finance Corporation is not in a position to render greater assistance. The law is not sufficiently liberal to permit the sort of loans that the roads most urgently need at this time. The Corporation has abundant resources, but these cannot be made available except under conditions which make it difficult for the roads to get the help that they ought to have. The probability is, however, that some way will be found to enable the Corporation to make large advances to the railways, and so to fortify them for the strain to which

they must be subjected during the readjustment period. It may be necessary for the bankers to make an urgent appeal to the President to call an extra session of Congress as a means of meeting the extraordinary situation that has developed in consequence of the inability of the roads to meet their maturing obligations. What form such a request would take is not known, but the various railroad managers feel that it is important to acquaint the President with their belief as to the seriousness of the situation which has developed. Although the situation is a difficult one, the probability is that the Washington authorities will be made to realize the necessity for quick action; for the railways are imperatively in need of funds to provide necessary equipment and to furnish the facilities that will be required to meet traffic demands in the near future. The business of the country cannot at any time afford to find its hands tied by a freight blockade, and the financial plea of the railways accordingly has great interest for all classes of the business community.

Unless it should be possible for Congress to grant early relief, it will be necessary for the Railroad Administration to apply for a much larger revolving fund than \$750,000,000. The longer Congress waits, the larger will be the accumulated indebtedness. The probability is that the present movement to provide the roads with necessary funds will be successful, and that financial assistance will be granted to many of the weaker roads.

It would be difficult for any railway to finance a large bond issue at this time. The roads are in a position where it will be useless for them to ask for large loans from private banking sources unless the uncertainty surrounding the Government's railway policy is quickly cleared up. The indications are that the committee of bankers will, if necessary, unite in a campaign to obtain necessary relief through Government agencies. The banks must stand ready to make large advances to the railways as soon as the peace compact has been signed and a genuine effort has been started to restore the world's industry to a peace basis. The roads are badly in need of rails and equipment, and it will be necessary for the Railroad Administration and the Industrial Board to come to terms in the near future, if the steel producers are to respond to the demand for necessary railway equipment. Although the outlook is confused, the indications are that the roads will come out all right during the longer future.

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 Symons, Arthur. *The Symbolist Movement in Literature*. Revised and enlarged edition. Dutton. \$3.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

- Chamberlain, Joseph E. *The Ifs of History*. Philadelphia: Altamus. \$1.
 Marriott, J. A. R. *The European Commonwealth: Problems Historical and Diplomatic*. Oxford Press. \$7.50.
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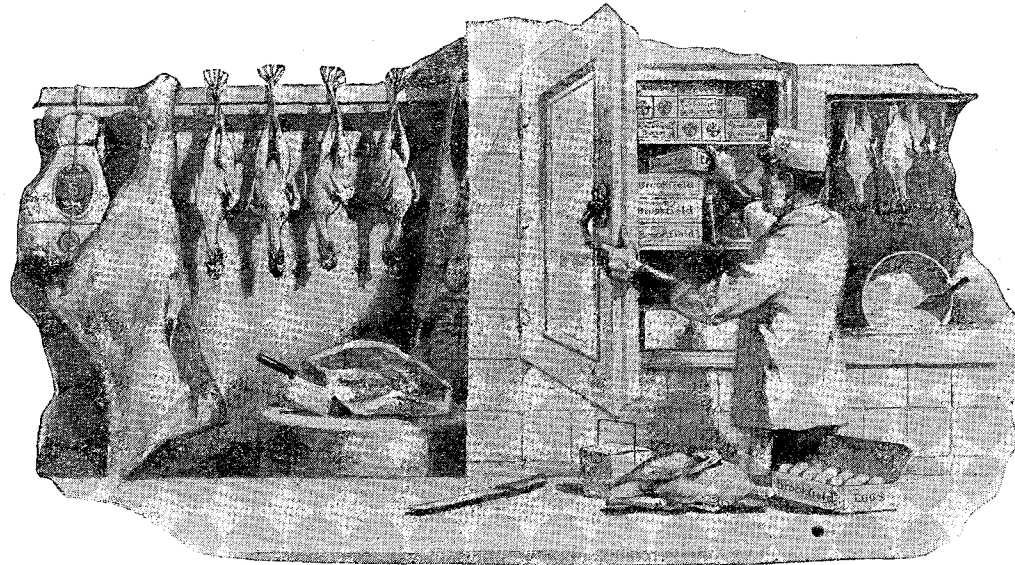
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International Relations Section

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No. 2807

The Trend of the British Preference Policy

By A. C. MILLSPAUGH

THE idea of British Imperial preference, whether by way of tariffs, or shipping, or what not, is of crucial importance in the evolution of international relations and of the British Empire; and it is incumbent upon all who believe in the principle of international commercial equality, or who are interested in the business future of the United States, to follow closely the trend of British opinion on the subject as expressed by responsible spokesmen.

At the present time the United Kingdom grants no preferential trade treatment to any other part of the Empire, although it receives preferential treatment from all the overseas Dominions except Newfoundland.* The Imperial War Conference of 1917, however, following the example of all previous Imperial Conferences, formally declared itself in favor of "the principle that each part of the Empire, having due regard to the interests of our Allies, should give especially favorable treatment and facilities to the produce and manufactures of other parts of the Empire."

Lord Balfour of Burleigh's Committee on Commercial and Industrial Policy after the War recommended in a report of February 2, 1918, that a tariff preference should be accorded by the United Kingdom to the products and manufactures of the overseas Dominions; and expressed the opinion that it would "be necessary to take into early consideration, as one of the methods of achieving the above objects, the desirability of establishing a wider range of customs duties which would be remitted or reduced on the products and manufactures of the Empire, and which would form the basis of commercial treaties with Allied and neutral Powers."

During the last week of July, 1918, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Walter Long, the Colonial Secretary, and Mr. Bonar Law, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, announced that the Government had definitely decided to adopt a policy of Imperial preference after the war. Mr. Bonar Law explained to the House of Commons, in reply to questions, that the Government policy would include preference in duties as well as preference in transportation; that the Government had "adopted the principle of preference, and nothing more"; and that the "question of the special fiscal policy to be adopted either by the United Kingdom or by the Dominions must be settled by each independently." A few days later Sir Robert Borden pointed out that "neither the Imperial War Cabinet nor the Imperial War Conference has had under consideration this year (1918) the question of preference. The recent announcement on the subject was made on behalf of the British Government as a statement of the domestic policy of the United Kingdom." On October 17, the Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for the Colonies was asked in the House of Commons "whether India and Egypt were parties to the arrangement." Mr. Hewins replied that there was nothing in the nature of an "arrangement," but that the policy of preference applied to the whole of the Empire. In a letter

of November 2 to Mr. Bonar Law, the Prime Minister outlined an economic programme embracing (1) Imperial preference on existing duties and on any duties which may subsequently be imposed; (2) no taxation of food, except in so far as an article (for example, tea or coffee) has, "for our own purposes," been subjected to a duty; (3) the maintenance of the country's improved agricultural position; (4) overhauling of the transport situation; (5) the protection of "key" industries; and (6) prevention of "dumping."

The campaign manifesto issued on November 21 by Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Bonar Law outlined the Coalition position with reference to Imperial preference in the following words:

It will be the fundamental object of the Coalition to promote the unity and development of our Empire and of the nations of which it is composed; to preserve for them the position and influence and authority which they have gained by their sacrifices and efforts in the cause of human liberty and progress; and to bring into being such conditions of living for the inhabitants of the British Isles as will secure plenty and opportunity for all.

Until the country has returned to normal industrial conditions, it would be premature to prescribe a fiscal policy intended for permanence. We must endeavor to reduce the war debt in such a manner as may inflict the least injury to industry and credit. The country will need all the food, all the raw materials, and all the credit which it can obtain, and fresh taxes ought not to be imposed on food or upon the raw materials of our industry.

At the same time a preference will be given to our colonies upon existing duties and upon any duties which for our own purposes may be subsequently imposed. One of the lessons which has been most clearly taught us by the war is the danger to the nation of being dependent upon other countries for vital supplies, on which the life of the nation may depend.

The manifesto further declared that it is the purpose of the Government to preserve "key" industries and prevent "dumping."

There is no doubt but that the war startled Great Britain into a thorough reconsideration of its traditional free-trade theories; and impetus was given to the movement for a change of economic policy by the menace of *Mitteleuropa* and the resulting preparations made by the Paris Conference in 1916 for an economic "war after the war." The opinion has had weight that the Empire could play its part in an economic alliance only if it were itself an economic unit, and that, with or without an economic alliance, a degree of self-sufficiency in production and distribution is essential to national security. Sentiment, moreover, has exerted a tremendous influence in the form of a feeling that preference may be looked upon as a test of political attitude, and that the Dominions and colonies, by their conduct in the war, had earned a larger measure of recognition from the mother country.

The Government reached its decision to adopt a policy of preference before it was known that the war was to end in the decisive defeat of the Central Powers. Prior to the

* See the article by Sir George Foster on "British Imperial Preference," in the *Nation*, November 2, 1918.

announcement of policy in July, 1918, some American observers thought that they detected in British opinion a reaction towards free trade, due in part to the opposition of the United States, of some portions of the British Empire, and of such men as Viscount Bryce and Professor Alfred Marshall. Since July the armistice has been signed, the evil spirit of *Mitteleuropa* has been exorcised, and the idea of a League of Nations has won the support of British public opinion. In view of the last-named development, it is significant that recent opposition to Imperial preference centres largely in the argument, as phrased by the *Manchester Guardian*, that "we cannot have a self-sufficing exclusive Empire with a tariff ring-fence around it and expect it to coöperate with our Allies for common purposes." The Departmental Committee on Shipping and Shipbuilding, discussing in its final report the question of preference to British shipping, suggests a basis for British policy in words which deserve much wider notice in the United States than has yet been accorded them.

One argument against a policy of discrimination remains to be stated, and it is one that in our opinion overrides all others. Whatever may be the merits or the practicability of a league of nations after the war, it seems clear that our object must be to eliminate the causes of international friction which might lead to future wars. International commerce will be more than ever necessary after the war, and it would be deplorable to set out on a course which would hamper the natural flow of trade and lead to endless quarrels among the maritime nations of the world. Freedom of the seas, in the sense of equal treatment of all flags in all ports, should therefore be a cardinal principle in our post-war policy.

Our conclusion then is and must be that the only policy which can meet the position is one which, instead of giving preference at home, will secure the grant of national treatment to British shipping in the fullest sense abroad.

It is not easy at the moment to determine in what direction the currents of British opinion are tending. In the recent election the Coalition Government received an overwhelming vote of confidence; but the vote was on persons rather than on issues. While the defeated Liberals, to be sure, registered their unequivocal adherence to the doctrine of free trade, the Coalition refrained from putting itself on record in favor of a general policy of protection or of any other fiscal policy, and in some of the Premier's most important speeches he ignored the subject of Imperial preference altogether.

It is possible that those who fully agree regarding the principle of preference will find themselves in disagreement when the time comes for the definite application of the principle. The import figures of the United Kingdom show some of the difficulties. In 1913, the last normal pre-war year, the imports were, in percentages:

	From all Foreign Countries	From the Dominions
Food, drink, and tobacco	36	49
Raw and partly manufactured materials	52	43
Manufactured and miscellaneous goods	12	8
Total imports	100	100

The Committee on Commercial and Industrial Policy points out that

it is obvious that any tariff which is to be used to any considerable extent as a means of reciprocating the preferential

treatment accorded by the British self-governing Dominions to the mother country, and as the basis for a scheme of inter-Imperial preferences, could not be limited to manufactured or semi-manufactured commodities, but would have to be extended to a wide range of foodstuffs and possibly even raw materials.

Nevertheless, as a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* puts it, ". . . no one in this country has yet ventured to advocate openly a tax on the raw materials of British industries, and the British Cabinet, in recently announcing its conversion to a policy of Imperial preference, expressly stated that there must be no tax on food."

In view of the difficulties in the way of a fiscal application of the principle of preference, stress is frequently laid on the broader aspects of the question. "An Imperial policy in the broadest sense," says the Dominions Royal Commission, "must include much that is not fiscal. There is no short cut to the formulation of such a policy; what is needed, in our view, is detailed examination of existing conditions, and practical and definite proposals for the removal of difficulties and for securing coöperation." The Committee on Commercial and Industrial Policy directs attention to such measures as "government contracts to purchase for a term of years at guaranteed minimum prices part or the whole of the output of materials of great industrial importance (a course already adopted in the case of Australian zinc concentrates and refined spelter), or financial assistance from the Home Government towards the development of Imperial resources, as in the case of Canadian nickel."

A form of preference which is likely to increase in interest with the nationalizing of industry is that which relates to the materials used in Government undertakings and contracts. This form of preference was approved by the Colonial Conference of 1902; and, in the United Kingdom, according to the Colonial Office Committee on Trade Relations, "the Departments which are chiefly concerned in placing contracts have regularly since 1902 given a preference to Empire products by means of administrative action whenever it was practicable to do so." An identical policy is pursued by South Africa and New Zealand. The Imperial War Conference, in July, 1918, discussed the matter without adopting a formal resolution, the consensus of opinion being that contracts should be kept within the Empire but that it was impossible to lay down any hard and fast rule. An advanced position was taken by the Dominions Royal Commission in urging that the British Trade Bank, when established, "should not only stipulate that orders in connection with any new undertakings which it may finance in the self-governing Dominions should be placed, as far as possible, with British manufacturers, but should exert its influence to induce other financial establishments in the United Kingdom to follow its own example."

To any scheme of British Imperial preference the interests of the United States and of the world have been regarded by some as in opposition. For the British Empire to abandon its policy of economic freedom and adopt one of opposite character might be looked upon by many as an abdication of its liberal position in the economic life of the world and as a setback to the present hopeful internationalist tendency. The problem for Great Britain, therefore, if it desires to adopt a policy of preference within the Empire, would seem to be to harmonize that policy with the claims of the League of Nations to the principles of which it is committed, and of which the Dominions will form component parts.

The Arab Revolt and the Syrian Problem

By LEWIS S. GANNETT

AFTER the principal Allies had been allotted their quotas at the Peace Conference, there was a belated announcement that the Kingdom of the Hejaz would be given two seats. That little Arab kingdom, recognized by France and England as a belligerent Ally in 1916, had been left out, but Faisul, third son of the King of the Hejaz (or, as the King prefers to be called, Cherif of Mecca), and a young English colonel named Lawrence, who had been adopted into the family of the descendants of the prophet Mohammed and was a major-general in Faisul's Arab army, made a few spirited remarks about the share of the Arab army in the liberation of Syria and the feelings which those Arabs might entertain if omitted from the Peace Conference; and the Kingdom of the Hejaz secured its two seats.

The Hejaz itself is a small strip on the west coast of Arabia, but it includes the holy cities of Medina and Mecca, and its ruler is the Cherif of Mecca, descendant of the Prophet himself, head of a family with a venerable history of nine hundred years as guardians of the holy relics. Houssein, the Cherif, was Governor under the Turks; his sons were brought up in exile at Constantinople. Even before the war Arab secret societies had been working towards independence; the Cherif's second son, Abdul, had been active in one of these societies in Mesopotamia; the Turks, on entering the war, discovered records of others in Syria and hanged some hundreds of their chiefs, deporting thousands more to Asia Minor. (Arabs speak one language from the Euphrates to the seacoast, and from Suez to the mountain ranges of Asia Minor. To the Arab, Syria is simply a region where Arabs, a few of whom are Christians, live more settled industrial lives; there is no word for "Syria" in the Arab tongue.)

Late in 1915 the Cherif of Mecca sent a letter to the Governor of Egypt stating that he wanted to revolt against the Turks, but that, without arms and supplies, it was impossible. So, when the Cherif took Jedda, the port of Mecca, in January, 1916, British guns and ammunition and food met him there, in charge of a group of British officers. Among them was Lawrence, an Oxford man who had spent some years straying about the Near East, digging up Hittite ruins, studying the military architecture of the Crusaders, even on occasion doing engineering work on the Bagdad railway, and in the course of it all learning Arabic and a great deal about the Arabs. He is a blue-eyed, fair-haired man, still in his twenties; on his Paris work-table lie volumes of Samuel Butler and Joseph Conrad, Epictetus, Wordsworth, and Walter de la Mare; but he is the romantic hero of the Arab rebellion.

Slowly the revolt spread, moving northward along the coast. Mecca was taken; Medina remained in the hands of a Turkish garrison because the Turks stored Mohammed's tomb with explosives and made known their intention of destroying it in case the town was attacked, thus effectively protecting it against Moslem troops. In a year the Hejaz was free from Turks (except for Medina, which did not surrender until after the armistice); in July, 1917, Akaba, at the shoulder of the Sinai peninsula, was taken and a

junction effected with General Allenby's army from Egypt. As the Arab army moved on, its constitution changed. Bedouins do not like to wander far from their home deserts and oases; as new districts were liberated, the southern troops drifted homeward and more northern tribes came under Faisul's flag. With them went the Cherif Lawrence, clad as an Arab, speaking the Arab tongue, as officer of both British and Arab armies. Wherever the army went, all the way from Jerusalem to Damascus, local Arabs rose and drove out the Turks; so that the Syrians have reason to feel that they shared in their own liberation, and are proud of it. The British War Office invested £10,000,000 in the venture and found it well spent.

Meantime certain statesmen in Europe had drawn up secret treaties arranging for a division of Syria and Mesopotamia between Russia, France, and England. This was in 1916, before the Russian Revolution and before the Syrians had achieved their independence. France was to receive the coast strip of Syria, the Vilayet of Adana, and a large strip of land to the north; Russia, in addition to Constantinople, most of what is commonly called Armenia, and some of the south coast of the Black Sea; England, southern Mesopotamia and the Syrian ports of Caiffa and Acre. Palestine was to have a special régime; and the territory between the French and English acquisitions was to be formed into a confederation of Arab governments, or a single independent Arab government, and was divided into "zones" in which France and England were to have varying degrees of "influence." Faisul did not know of this treaty when he led the Arab revolt; nor did the Arabs and Syrians when they revolted.

No one was satisfied with the old treaty. The Russians no longer wanted a share of the spoils; the Syrians wanted real independence; and certain French interests wanted a "unified Syria" under French tutelage. To a group of Francophile Syrians M. Clemenceau wrote, in December, 1918, that the Franco-British accords were "absolutely transitory" and that the French Government, not forgetful of its traditional care for the oppressed nationalities of Asia Minor, was "especially determined to assure by its own care the evolution of Syria in particular towards a pacific civilization."

French interests in the Levant are chiefly commercial. There is a sentimental tradition dating back to the Crusades, but it exists chiefly in newspaper editorials. There are many French Catholic schools, but there are more American schools than French. Another historical link was formed in 1860, when the pagan Druses of Mt. Lebanon began massacring the numerically inferior Roman Catholic Arabs of the region. The Great Powers decided to interfere, and French troops then at Port Said *en route* to China were landed in the region and made peace without a casualty. Since then a provincial Government, under Turkish control but guaranteed by France, Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, has existed; and the French have cherished the memory of their successful intervention. There are Turkish, German, and British railways in Syria, but the important lines from Beirût to Damascus and Aleppo are French. Before the war England controlled half the foreign trade with Syria, but France absorbed the largest share of Syrian exports, chiefly in raw silk. This silk is all-important to the Lyons silk industry, which would be seriously affected if Syria developed silk mills on a large scale.

A "Syrian Congress" called by the Chamber of Commerce

of Marseilles, and held in that centre of Levantine shipping in the first week of January, heard much talk of the necessity of the "unity of Syria." The separation of the coast cities of Syria from the rich interior cities of Damascus and Aleppo is obviously unjustified, but from the point of view of the small but influential French colonial party it was doubly so. An inner Syria which could gradually be absorbed into a French coastal colony might be acceptable; but not an inner Syria attached in some way to an Arab confederation which would be responsive to the influence of British military prestige in the Near East, and to the memory of British aid in freeing the country from the Turks.

Faisul, commander-in-chief of the Arab armies and third son of the Cherif of Mecca and King of the Hejaz, represents his father's kingdom at the Peace Conference. In this capacity he asks only that the Great Powers aid him to collect the stolen treasures belonging to the Hejaz, which are now somewhere in Turkey, and then leave the Hejaz alone. But he also represents a belligerent army of Syrian Arabs. That is why the French at first opposed his presence at the Peace Conference, for as representative of the army he stands in the way of the French claim to Syria. He, too, wants a unified Syria, but he wants an independent Syria placed merely temporarily under a mandatory of the League of Nations.

The United States is his preferred mandatory, partly because he realizes that British control would increase French jealousy, and partly because he believes that the United States would be more disinterested. If the United States will not accept the mandate—the request has been made unofficially, and the unofficial reply has intimated a refusal—the second choice is England. The last choice is France. France, Faisul declares, has maintained order in Algeria and made it materially prosperous; but Algeria under French control has not produced a native who can write good Arabic, or a single real Arabic scholar. "First-class sham Frenchmen" have been produced, not first-class Arabs. Faisul believes in Arabian culture. He wants railways and electrical power-stations and drainage and agricultural machinery and schools in Syria; but he wants a sympathetic mandatory by his side to see that the railways and the industrial development are not used to hold down his fellow-countrymen; and he wants the schools to be Arab schools, with a reverence and respect for a great tradition. Colonel Lawrence speaks with enthusiasm of modern Arabian poetry, which he says is untranslatable; of revolutionary songs which cannot be rendered into English because of their peculiarly Oriental beauty and their peculiar Oriental indecency; of a silk-weaving art and glass-work which the West cannot even imitate; and of an Arabian adaptability which makes even the modern buildings of Aleppo, obviously built on Western models, somehow wholly Eastern and beautiful.

According to Colonel Lawrence, interpreting the thought of Faisul, Egypt and India have cost the British Empire nothing, and the Soudan will soon pay; why would it not be possible to raise a loan for the infinitely more fertile Syria, and guarantee it by the customs? In fifteen years, he believes, Syria could stand on its own feet. In the meantime the assistance it needs should be disinterested, and come from a nation responsible to the League of Nations rather than from one seeking a colonial empire.

On the other hand, French writers insist that the mass of the Syrians are begging for French help. A delegation from Lebanon has appeared at Paris, perhaps not unencour-

aged, to ask for French suzerainty. But the fact remains that while French troops have occupied the Vilayet of Adana and French officers are scattered through the coast cities of Syria, troops in force have not been landed, and there have been threats that the Arabs would attack them if they were.

If Syria should become independent, whether as a kingdom, principality, or republic, Faisul would probably be chosen as its head. He is the leader of the native forces that achieved liberation, and a direct descendant of the Prophet's daughter Fatima. For the present he is interested only in Syrian independence. The Arab states to the south would prefer to be left alone; even the Turks exercised only a nominal rule over those ancient tribes. Mesopotamia may achieve an autonomy under the League of Nations, and some day a Pan-Arab federation may bring them all together. But that is in the more distant future.

The New Holy Alliance

THE trenchant criticism which follows of the plan of a League of Nations formulated by the Paris Conference was published at London, in March, in a series of pamphlets issued by the Union of Democratic Control. The plan of a League of Nations drawn up by General Smuts, to which Mr. Hobson refers, was published as a separate section of the *Nation* on February 8, and has also been reprinted in pamphlet form.

All sane-minded persons have long been agreed that some sort of definite continuous arrangements between nations to keep the peace, to settle disagreements by methods of justice, and to coöperate with one another for all purposes of common interest, is essential to the safety and civilization of the world. The war sharpened the sense of this necessity and set many minds at work in different countries to think out schemes for what it is agreed to call a League of Nations. For a long time statesmen of the first rank were shy of committing themselves to any ideal of international relations so remote from the actualities of the great struggle in which national energies were absorbed, and the advocacy of the scheme was left to private groups and societies in this country, the United States, and the neutral European countries. President Wilson's enthusiastic adoption of the scheme, followed by the important demonstration of Lord Grey last year, placed it firmly on the platform of practical politics and made it an integral part of any peace settlement. In Mr. Wilson's thought and utterance the League was the chief instrument for realization of the great principles of nationality and self-determination, open diplomacy, and equality of economic opportunity, which were to him the cornerstones of the new world-order. These ideas and ideals he brought over with him when he crossed the Atlantic this year to attend the Paris Conference. But he brought them in solution, not embodied in a plan. Now, General Smuts, keenly sympathetic with the same ideas, but steeped in the refractory material of the actual European situation, had just formulated a plan which in scope and spirit was exceedingly attractive to supporters of the League who were willing to face the risk of submitting its initiation, not to an impartial gathering of the nations of the earth, but to the diplomatic representatives of the Allied nations met primarily to impose terms of peace upon a conquered foe. General Smuts's scheme, favorably considered by the British Government, appears to have been the mould into which Mr. Wilson willingly poured his idealism, and the united representatives of Britain and America made it the working plan for the League of Nations Committee at Paris. The hardly-concealed hostility of statesmen of the old order, especially in France and Italy, was overcome by the necessity of appeasing the "idealists," as they conceived the advocates of internationalism to be, and set itself

to the double task of distorting the League of Nations into a Holy Alliance of the Entente Powers, and of safeguarding the absolute sovereignty of their state against any assertions of an international commonwealth. To this end they took the British-American proposals, adopted and strengthened every item of partiality in the structure and composition of the League, removed every shred of popular or Parliamentary control, twisted every provision for disarmament, mandatory power, and territorial settlement to their own Chauvinist and imperialist purposes, and, finally, destroyed effective internationalism by giving every state the separate power to paralyze the action of the League by means of a veto.

The net result is, not a league of peoples devoted to peace and fruitful international coöperation, but a conspiracy of autocrats designed to hold down their enemies by superior economic and military-naval force, and to exercise a domination over the whole world; a tyranny only qualified by the necessity of preserving the solidarity of the great Powers by means of a sufficient share of the spoils of victory.

To many hasty readers of the Paris draft this judgment may seem wildly pessimistic. For they find there many of the functions of a League of Nations which everyone approves—the judicial or arbitral process for the settlement of judicable disputes, inquiry and conciliation for political differences, provisions for the guardianship and assistance of backward and weak peoples, for reduction and control of armaments, publication and revision of treaties, and new valuable proposals for securing an international standard of labor conditions. But a closer scrutiny will show the scheme poisoned in every section by the separatist, tyrannous, and unjust war spirit, seeking to impose itself upon the future order. The origin and structure of the League first makes this manifest. Who are the makers of this League? The five big war Allies, Britain, France, Italy, the United States, Japan. Who are the signatories? The fourteen war Allies. This group of the war alliance is next to “select” what neutrals it may choose to invite to become original members of the League, upon terms imposed by the Big Five. Bad neutrals and all the late enemy countries are to stand in outer darkness at the inception of the League. Later on they may be admitted, if two-thirds of the original members agree, upon terms which stamp inferiority of power and status on them.

So far as the League has any substance as an international authority, the entire power is vested in the Foreign Ministers (or their nominees) of the Five Great Powers. For though equality of representation for all the members of the League is secured upon the lower Body of Delegates, that body has no real powers assigned to it, except the admission of new members and the right of inquiring into non-judicable disputes, if the parties concerned prefer this course. All really critical judgments and actions are left exclusively to an Executive Council, which appoints the permanent Secretariat into whose hands the details of administration must pass. It is the Council that summons disputants, determines and controls the settlement of disputes, promulgates awards and recommendations, and applies economic or other force against breakers of the covenant, or even against outside states who refuse to settle their disputes as the Council thinks they ought. Though the loose drafting of the document leaves the important matter of the selection of a mandatory Power undefined, it seems evident that the Council will assign these rights to its own members upon terms the settlement of which is expressly ascribed to the Council.

What is this Council to which the real government of the League is given? It is to consist of the five big war Allies, with four other members chosen by the delegates of the general body of states adhering to the League. This establishment of the five war Allies as the permanent majority of the Council is the mortal sin against the international idea. That idea professes to rest on the dethronement of force and the enthronement of equal right in the relations between nations. But here is force once more enthroned. For what is the basis of selection for these five states? First, the fact that they are the owners of the strongest forces, secondly, that they are victorious Powers.

Now, these facts are undeniable. But they are not merely irrelevant, they are antagonistic to the formation of any sound instrument of international order. To stamp upon the origin and form of the League the war motif is to employ Beelzebub for the expulsion of Moloch.

It is only natural that a League so conceived should emit tyranny and partiality wherever it moves. Every function assigned to it suffers a necessary degradation. Take, first, the condition essential to convert this sham League into a really international League—the admission of the enemy Powers. Such a state applying for admission has first to give the packed house of Delegates “effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations.” Germany now, or Russia later on, would, were it able to prove to a hostile body its sincere intentions, then be allowed membership on a level, not with Italy or Japan, but with Siam, Peru, or Newfoundland. For one of the most flagrant violations of equal representation consists in the clause asserting the right of membership for our several Dominions on the ground that they are “fully self-governing countries,” which they are not in the matter of foreign relations, the only matter that counts for the purpose of a League. The claim is an impudent repudiation of the unity of the British Empire, made, no doubt, as a counterpoise against equally unjust demands made by other Great Powers. What these demands were can easily be seen by examining the critical functions of the League. Take armaments. Is any fair and proportionate reduction intended or promised? Not at all. Only “the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety” and “having special regard to the geographical situation and circumstances of each case.” Now, as will presently appear, each Power can insist on being its own interpreter regarding needs of “national safety,” and M. Bourgeois, in his speech on the introduction of the draft, makes it evident that no equal standard of armaments is intended. “There are,” he said, “special dangers for countries like France, Belgium, Serbia, and the new states in course of formation,” which require for them “stronger systems of defence and possibly stronger armaments.” That is to say, the League is nothing but a second line of defence, the first being the full retention of national militarism!

Or, once more, take the “mandatory” policy, whereby certain Great Powers are to be entrusted with the guardianship of and assistance to backward peoples. Here is a great new principle of the substitution of international for purely national protectorates, a check upon the abuses of imperialistic aggression. Is it equally applied? Not at all. Article 19, which introduces it, confines its application “to those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the states which formerly governed them”—i. e., to such portions of the conquered territories of Turkey and Germany as are not deemed ripe for independence. But if this mandatory principle is good for Togoland and Mesopotamia, why is it not good for the Belgian and French Congo, and for other protectorates in tropical Africa and elsewhere, where the same conditions and the same possible or actual abuses of imperialist rule obtain? Why confine this wholesome “principle” to the spoils of war? But partiality does not end here; it is carried further. For certain German colonies, i. e., South-West Africa and “certain of the South Pacific Islands,” are to become “integral portions” of the mandatory state. The reasons given for these exceptions, viz., sparseness of their population, remoteness from civilization, contiguity to the mandatory state, etc., are evidently bogus. The fact is that our Dominions, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, and perhaps also Japan, have insisted upon annexation of these German colonies, and it is sought to cover up that demand under the sham mandatory principle. Probably this exception was bought from France by special terms for her armaments and frontiers, thus killing two principles with one “deal.” The mandatory system thus applied is a thin veneer for the distribution of colonial spoils of war among the Big Five. If any further witness is required for this wanton distortion of internationalism to the purposes

of inflamed and revengeful nationalism, it is given in the following demand of M. Klotz, the French Minister of Finance, the first plank of whose declared policy is "to demand from the enemy payment for the whole of his debt, and require guarantees for its payment and to create a permanent section of the League of Nations so as to carry out an inter-Ally Entente policy." Thus does France hope to make the League her bailiff.

One other "principle" for the pacific operation of the League was loudly and enthusiastically acclaimed by Mr. Wilson and General Smuts, viz., the open door, or equality of economic opportunity. Where does it stand in this covenant? Only in one of the three types of territory over which mandatory powers are to be exercised is there any provision to "secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League." German Central Africa is included, so that until Germany is admitted to the League she is cut off from equal trade access with the colonies of which she is despoiled. As regards the territories, even the tropical protectorates of the League members, all that is conceded is "freedom of transit and equitable (not equal!) treatment for the commerce of its members." Nowhere is any mention of equal opportunities for investment and development. . . .

Such is the character of this sham League. Nowhere does the breath of democracy enter its frame. Everywhere the arbitrary and despotic will of the five big fighting Powers of the Entente holds sway. Everywhere the functions of the League are to be administered by this little group of war Ministers, so as to continue their domination over Europe and to extend it even beyond the ultimate limits of the League. . . .

It is, apparently, not contemplated that Germany or Russia will enter membership. For if the structure and the functions of the League are such as are laid down in the draft, it would be impossible that they would consent to enter, even if they gained permission to do so.

Excluded Germany must therefore look to linking hands with excluded Russia, so soon as any sort of stable Government is made in the latter country. Then, instead of the League of Nations we shall have another Balance of Power for Europe, and if America chooses to come in, she enters "an entangling alliance" and not the universal union of Mr. Wilson's dream.

I have, however, reserved for the end the astounding commentary which, if it be correct, removes many of the vices of this draft by reducing the whole of its provisions to futility. The final article virtually makes all amendment of the constitution of the League impossible by its requirement that all amendments must be ratified by all the members of the Executive Council and by three-fourths of the states. But Lord Robert Cecil, in his formal exposition of the draft, further informs the world that "we have laid down, and this is the great principle of all action, whether of the Executive Council or of the Body of Delegates, except in very special cases and for very special reasons which are set out in the covenant, that *all actions must be unanimously agreed to in accordance with the general rule which governs international relations.*" This provision for unanimity, of course, enables a single state to paralyse the operations of the League. General Smuts in his draft provided for a majority of two-thirds in cases of divergence among members of the Council, clearly recognizing "that if its votes have to be unanimous, the League will be unworkable." Lord Robert Cecil tells us then that a League which General Smuts had previously denounced as "unworkable" has been accepted by the fourteen signatory states.

It is idle to blink these terrible defects, as many supporters of a League of Nations in this country seem disposed to do. Those who see in a sound League the sole hopes for the world should work for remedying the defects. It must here suffice to name the principal remedies required to make the League an honest, equitable, and democratic organ of internationalism. (1) The immediate invitation to Germany to enter upon equal terms with the five Powers. (2) The conversion of the Body of Delegates into a really representative international Parliament with deliberative and legislative powers. (3) The reconstruc-

tion of the Executive Council upon a fairer basis, so as to rescue the world from the tyranny of the Big Five and to make its powers concomitant with, not independent of, the Body of Deputies. (4) To make the League Government genuinely international by removing the "veto" of the separate sovereign states and securing majority rule, with such safeguards against its abuse by combinations of small states as may be necessary. (5) General Smuts's demand for the abolition of conscription to be inserted. (6) All taint of partiality to be removed from the mandatory provisions. (7) Full equality of trading and other economic purposes for all members of the League in the colonies and protectorates of all states, and, if states are not prepared for free trade at home, equal access to their markets for the trade of all foreigners. (8) All provisions for international labor standards to be made by an international commission upon which at least one-half of the members are the chosen representatives of organized labor in their respective countries. A series of radical reforms along these lines might go far toward rescuing this League of Nations from the perilous conditions into which it has been plunged by inimical intrigues and foolish compromises.

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Disarmament Plans in Scandinavia

Stockholm, January 19

THE disarmament of the three Scandinavian states seems likely to be the first, if indeed it is not the only, result of the war in the direction of internationalism. Two influences are at work here, but how far disarmament is to go depends upon how far these influences shall prove effective. The first is the strong national movement in favor of a reduction of armaments—a movement which the war has affected only in that it has enormously increased the cost of military material and emphasized the value of productive labor. The other influence is the League of Nations, and the disarmament plans which are to be discussed at the Peace Conference. As to the latter, the three Scandinavian countries are still deliberating over a common policy. Independently, however, of whether or not the Peace Conference finds a generally acceptable substitute for the military and naval competition which preceded the war, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway are definitely committed to a considerable degree of disarmament, and their political and financial exigencies will compel them to pursue such a policy even if the old international system is unchanged.

Three weeks ago Sweden followed Denmark in appointing a commission of public men and experts with a view to preparing for disarmament. What action Norway will take has not yet been decided, the matter being delayed by the political crisis which followed the electoral defeat of Premier Gunnar Knudsen in October and November last, the result of which will be either a new Cabinet under a new Premier, or a reconstructed or coalition Knudsen Cabinet. But the policy of M. Knudsen, if he remains in power, is sufficiently defined by King Haakon's speech at the opening of the Storting in December, promising "gradual abolition of the special neutrality measures"; by the omission this year of the ordinary winter training; and by the unofficial announcement that the Government is taking up the question of reducing defence expenditure and that a special commission will be appointed. This brings the three kingdoms into line, although Denmark has gone much further

than either Sweden or Norway in that the complete abolition of its fortresses and military system in general is in no way dependent upon a favorable outcome of the international deliberations at Paris.

Although the Governments themselves have everywhere taken action, the real driving power behind this disarmament movement is the Socialists; in a great measure it is the Left-Socialists or syndicalists, who are not far removed from Bolsheviks. It is true that the Swedish Liberals and their counterpart the Danish Radicals, both now in power, have steadily opposed the increase of armaments in the past; but their attitude towards the existing expenditures for armaments was one of compromise, while the moderate Socialist parties have stood for reduction, but not for entire abolition. Thus, during the Swedish army crisis of 1914, marked by the fall of the Liberal Premier, Karl Staaff, and the accession to power of M. Hammarskjöld with a strong defence programme, the Socialists were willing to vote for six months' compulsory training. The Left-Socialists alone are uncompromising. The Swedish Left-Socialist party is an off-shoot of the moderate Social-Democratic party. It was not formally organized until May, 1917, and has at present only twelve members in the Riksdag. As early as 1916, however, it was vigorously anti-militarist; and it carried on its agitation with such success that conscripts refused to serve. Stories of military insubordination filled the newspapers, and the commanding officers of Boden, the northern fortress built as a defence against Russia, and other centres, complained that the soldiers could not be prevented from attending meetings at which mutiny was preached. Many persons were prosecuted for participation in the agitation. All of this was the work of the Left-Socialist faction, whose editor-leader, Höglund, himself landed in jail. Norway experienced similar trouble, aggravated by formal military strikes; and after the official Socialist organization was captured by the Left, or Bolshevik, wing there was a sharp assault upon the army and a demand that military training should come to an end.

In all three countries the moderate Socialists, perceiving the party advantage which has been reaped by the Left-Socialists from their attacks on militarism, have now adopted as their own the Left-Socialist battle-cry, "abolition of the military establishments." The Norwegian moderate Socialists have surrendered to the point of self-extinction. When, at the end of 1918, the Labor party issued a proclamation demanding "complete abolition of the military system and conversion of the military establishments to useful production," it secured the signatures not only of the Left-Socialist leader, Trammæl, but also of the moderate Socialist leader, Lian. In Sweden the moderate Socialist leader, Branting, who in the past repeatedly declared against any measure of disarmament which would prejudice the country's safety, has been obliged to follow in the wake of the Left-Socialists; and this notwithstanding that he refused an offer to amalgamate both Socialist parties, and demanded that the Left-Socialists should first formally repudiate Bolshevism. This happened during the violent constitutional crisis of November and December last. The constitutional crisis, strictly defined, was limited to the question whether or not the municipal bodies which elect the First (upper) Chamber should be democratized, whether women should receive the vote, and a few other minor questions of the franchise; but the Left-Socialists took advantage of the popular discontent and the general

European ferment to put forward drastic demands, one of which was for the deposition of the King and another for the abolition of the army. Thereupon the Branting moderates, feeling that they would be discredited if they failed to gain some advantage out of the revolutionary situation, followed with almost equally drastic demands somewhat less brusquely expressed. They also asked for the abolition of the army, although the Swedish word which they used implies gradual rather than immediate abolition. Premier Eden gave way, and agreed to a commission for "the thorough revision of the defence system." In a memorandum dealing with this proposal, Premier Eden declared that Sweden's military system no longer promised to achieve its aims, and that the great rise in prices and the resulting injury to production made a cutting down of the army inevitable. He declined, however, to pledge himself to any measures until the new order of things in Europe was defined. As a matter of fact, one measure has been agreed upon, namely, a heavy reduction of expenditure, a foretaste of which is given in the new budget, issued a few weeks ago, in which the proposed expenditure for the army is cut down by 17,900,000 kronor, and that for the navy by 17,000,000 kronor. The Swedish Conservative press criticises these measures sharply, declaring that there is very little prospect that the Peace Conference will provide effective guarantees against future war, and that, in any case, no decision of the Conference can insure Scandinavia against attacks by Bolshevik propagandists. It is further pointed out that Finland is still maintaining 35,000 men under arms; that it has in addition 600 corps of chasseurs totalling 50,000 men; and that whereas compulsory training in Sweden is for one year, the period in Finland as proposed by a Government bill now under discussion will be two years. The fact that relations between Sweden and Finland are extremely bad is naturally not left out of account by the advocates of strong armaments.

The Danish disarmament movement which, like the Swedish, began in Left-Socialist or syndicalist threats, has developed much further. The immediate demolition of the Copenhagen forts has practically been decided, officers in large numbers are resigning from the army and navy, and army and navy material is to be devoted to peace uses. Here, too, the moderate Socialist party of M. Stauning demanded disarmament only after the more advanced Socialist party had put the issue in the forefront of a programme which called also for republicanism and immediate socialization. The moderates thereupon issued their own programme of reforms and succeeded in getting it accepted by Premier Zahle. The Government's policy of appointing a commission which is to make its recommendations independently of developments in Europe was very sharply criticised in the Folkething by M. Christensen, the leader of the Left party and ex-Premier, and also by representatives of the Conservatives. All Denmark, the critics declared, stands for disarmament and agrees that the military system at present in force does not absolutely guarantee the safety of the country; but the Government ought to have waited. The defence law passed by Premier Christensen in 1909, it was said, saved Denmark during the war from attack by Germany. In opposition to these views are to be found the Government parties, the Radicals and moderate Socialists, while outside stand the syndicalists, who demand the immediate cessation of all military training and the immediate conversion of all military establishments.

The future of this disarmament movement probably depends chiefly upon whether or not the revolutionary ferment continues, and also upon whether or not the Left-Socialists and the syndicalists continue to press the question hard. In a speech opposing Swedish constitutional reform, Admiral Lindman, the Conservative ex-Premier, observed with some truth that the Left-Socialists were the real political power; that they were driving the moderate Socialists, and that these in turn were pushing the Liberals. In spite of the small membership of the Left-Socialist parties and their lack of dominant personalities, the statement applies to all Scandinavians. The Left-Socialist parties have exploited with complete success the general nervousness of the moment in order to press, through the instrumentality of the more moderate parties, reforms which, four months ago, no one dreamed of regarding as practicable. An instance is the Scandinavian movement for republicanism. In theory all Socialists are republican—at least so a German Social-Democratic congress decided some ten years ago; but the Scandinavian moderate Socialists, being opposed to revolution, have of late ignored republicanism as a dead issue. Immediately after the German revolution, the Left-Socialists or syndicalists in all three countries demanded the abolition of the monarchy. In Sweden they forced M. Branting to admit that the question should be settled by referendum. In Denmark things have gone so far in the same direction that the Radical (not Socialist) leader, M. Slengerik, has announced that the issue of a republic must be submitted to the electorate at the next general election. The course of this issue of monarchy *versus* republic is precisely the same as the course of the movement for disarmament. The parties are governed not by principles but by pressure from other parties; the progressive parties are bewildered by the European cataclysm, and frightened by the thought that they may at any moment find themselves behind the rapidly changing times; and there is a general rush to get into line. The result is that, in the Scandinavian states, the cause of complete disarmament is making rapid progress, and no failure of the Peace Conference to devise possible means of settling international disputes will altogether check its course.

R. L.

The Mexican Oil Question

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. J. P. Chamberlain's article on "The Mexican Oil Question," in the International Relations Section of the *Nation* of January 11, is admirable alike for its fairness and its restraint. The writer reaches certain conclusions which may be formulated as follows:

- (1) "The Mexican law-making power has repeatedly recognized the proprietor of the surface as the owner of the petroleum."
- (2) A Constitutional Convention is absolutely sovereign, and, as such, may freely dispose of all property, public or private, even though such action entails confiscation.
- (3) Article 14, forbidding retroactive legislation, cannot be held to govern Article 27, unless the meaning of the latter be doubtful.
- (4) Confiscation does not preclude diplomatic interposition.
- (5) "The Mexican oil question is evidently one for reasonable solution."

I proceed to examine these statements seriatim.

- (1) Mr. Chamberlain states the fact correctly. The mining laws of Mexico have, from the beginning, recognized that coal

and petroleum belong to the owner of the land above the point of their occurrence, and are considered an inherent part thereof.

(2) It is claimed, however, that a Constitutional Convention is absolutely sovereign and that it may, so to speak, ring down the curtain on all that has gone before. Two theories prevail as to the character and powers of a Constitutional Convention. In the more restricted view, its powers are limited to those with which it is expressly invested by the act of the Legislature which summoned it into being; the more liberal view ascribes to it all sovereign powers inherently exercised by the people. But even this liberal view is subject to an important limitation in the method of its application. The limitation is enunciated by Cooley ("Constitutional Limitations," page 59) when he says: "The will of the people to this end (the revision or amendment of a Constitution) can only be exercised in the legitimate modes by which such a body politic can act, and which must either be prescribed by the Constitution whose revision or amendment is sought, or by an act of the legislative department of the State." Accepting the liberal theory, let us apply it to the concrete case of the Mexican Constitution of 1917.

Mr. Chamberlain is apparently under the impression that a Constitutional Convention is in Mexico the proper instrument for modifying the Constitution of that country; but he is mistaken. The Mexican Constitution of 1917 purports to be only a modification of the Constitution of 1857. The Constitution of 1917 begins with the following words: "That the Constituent Congress (Constitutional Convention) convened in this City (Queretaro) the 1st of December, 1916, . . . has deemed fit to issue the following political Constitution of the United States of Mexico, which amends the Constitution of February 5, 1857."

There is, accordingly, no question but that the Constitution of 1917 only amends the Constitution of 1857, which was and had been for sixty years the constitution of Mexico. The Constitutional Assembly did not convene for the purpose of organizing or creating any state, since Mexico had been for almost a century a member of the family of nations.

But the method through which it was decided to modify or amend the Constitution of 1857, namely, by a Constitutional Convention, was a direct violation of Section 127 of the Constitution of 1857, which reads: "The present Constitution may be added to or amended. No amendment or addition shall become part of the Constitution until agreed to by the Congress of the Union by a two-thirds vote of the members present, and approved by a majority of the State legislatures." The method just stated was the only possible legal method of modifying the Constitution of 1857. The latter Constitution does not provide for any Constitutional Convention or for any other form of amendment.

It has been argued that by virtue of the state of rebellion, which then prevailed in Mexico, all governmental agencies had disappeared. Just such a contingency, however, had been foreseen by the framers of the Constitution of 1857, when they provided in Article 128 that "This Constitution shall not lose its force and vigor even though its observance be interrupted by rebellion. . . . its force shall be restored so soon as the people shall regain their liberty." The Constitution itself does not provide the machinery to reestablish its full force after the period of rebellion is over, but three historical precedents, two of them linked with the name of President Juarez, have shown the way of returning to constitutional order, *i. e.*, by having the leader of the people call for the election of Federal authorities under the laws of the Republic. This very system was contemplated in the Plan of Guadalupe, which was the platform of the revolution headed by Carranza against the usurpation of Huerta; and it finds confirmation in the fact that the name "Constitutionalist" was chosen to designate the character and the purpose of the revolutionary movement. The Plan of Guadalupe designated Carranza as Chief, or First Chief, and imposed upon him the obligation of calling for the election of Federal officials as soon as the usurper had been vanquished. Huerta was indeed vanquished and his supporters annihilated, but when the revolution succeeded Carranza changed his mind, and instead

of following the precedents and complying with the Plan of Guadalupe and Article 128 of the Constitution of 1857, he decided to convene the so-called Constitutional Convention of Queretaro, which framed the Constitution of 1917. This Constitution, accordingly, is of spurious origin, and could be considered as the Constitution of Mexico only if it were unquestionably accepted by the Mexican people as their supreme law. It can hardly be said that this happened in view of the turbulent condition in which the country has been since the Constitution was promulgated.

(3) "Article 14 cannot be held to govern Article 27 unless the meaning of the latter be doubtful."

Article 27 declares that oil deposits are the property of the nation. Article 14 provides that no law shall be retroactively applied. Are these two provisions incompatible?

The general rule of construction is that "the instrument must be construed as a whole in order to ascertain both its intent and general purpose, and also the meaning of each part" (12 C. J., 707). How can this general principle be made effective in the case in point? If Article 27 be interpreted as embracing all privately-owned lands, whether acquired prior or subsequent to the promulgation of the Constitution of 1917, then Article 14 becomes wholly nugatory. On the other hand, if Article 27 be interpreted as referring solely to lands acquired after May 1, 1917, the apparent conflict disappears, and the two precepts are brought into harmony.

There are reasons equally cogent which can be adduced in support of the theory just outlined. In the absence of any Constitutional limitations, the provisions of the Constitution act prospectively. If such a rule of construction obtains in the absence of Constitutional precept, *a fortiori* it applies where there exists an article of the fundamental law drafted in such unequivocal language as to admit of no question. Article 14 reads: "No law shall be given retroactive effect to the prejudice of any person whatsoever." Moreover, Article 14 forms one of the Constitutional guarantees accorded to the individual in the first 29 Articles; a right as sacred as that of liberty, freedom of the press, or any of the others which go to make up what in Anglo-American law is known as the Bill of Rights.

(4) Thus far, the construction of the instrument has been considered from the standpoint of municipal law; but there is another aspect, namely, the international. On February 20, 1917, the American Ambassador, prior to the presentation of his credentials to the *de facto* Mexican Government, interrogated the Minister for Foreign Affairs regarding the possible spoliatory construction of Article 27. He was given ample assurances that Article 14 forbade such an interpretation, the statement being made that "legislation emanating from the new Constitution with regard to property rights would in his judgment in no way prejudice present property rights," and attention being called to an Article of the new Constitution which provides that no Mexican laws may be retroactive. It is surely not an unwarranted assumption that in the absence of these express assurances recognition would not have been extended. Equally emphatic was the assertion contained in an article in the *Mexican Review*, the recognized organ of the Constitutionalist Government in Washington, in its issue of October, 1917, where we read:

Leading owners of oil lands have no fear whatever regarding the "nationalization" of petroleum. Furthermore, the Government is now making a careful survey of all public lands in the petroleum district with a view to drawing up a plan for the exploitation of the measures thereon under "nationalization." But the Constitutional inhibition as to retroactive laws fully protects all land-owners in whatever locality and under whatever condition.

In view of the ample assurances given to the American Ambassador by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, no step was taken to carry into effect Article 27 until February 19, 1918. Beginning with that date, a series of decrees has been promulgated by the Executive, by virtue of certain extraordinary powers conferred upon him by Congress in the field of finance, all of which, under the guise of tax measures, would, if acquiesced in

by the oil companies, estop them from ever raising the only issue in the controversy, namely, the ownership of petroleum deposits acquired by May 1, 1917. Into this position the oil companies have consistently refused to be drawn.

As soon as the first attempt to give to Article 27 a meaning which would deprive American owners and lessees of their legitimately acquired rights was made evident to the United States Government, a formal protest was lodged against "the violation or infringement of legitimately acquired property rights." The British, French, and Dutch Governments likewise protested on substantially the same grounds. In reply to the protest of the British Government, dated August 14, 1918, the Mexican Government held that it "cannot see a way to accept the diplomatic protests from his Britannic Majesty which would have the effect of giving English citizens unequal preference over Mexican nationals." Aliens and nationals everywhere enjoy, with the exception of political privileges, equal rights. The alien enjoys, however, in addition, something which partakes more of the nature of a remedy than of a right, although the former necessarily flows from the latter, namely, diplomatic protection. The Mexican Government has recently sanctioned this principle. It was inevitable, for example, that in enforcing the compulsory military service act, certain residents of the United States, either through errors of fact or through divergent legal theories as to naturalization, should be pressed into the service. In the case of the American citizen, his final remedy lay in an appeal to the courts; in the case of a Mexican citizen, even after exhausting all judicial remedy, he still had the added benefit, whether it be termed a right or a remedy, of diplomatic intervention by his Government.

(5) Lastly, it is urged that the issue is one "for reasonable solution," which, it is suggested, should take the form of the recognition of "the Mexican desire to secure the orderly utilization of its national resources, and on the other the rights of the operators who have made investments in the country." Translated into a concrete formula, such a compromise would mean precisely what the oil companies have from the start demanded: a frank and unqualified recognition of all rights legitimately acquired under laws whose validity has never been assailed prior to the promulgation of the Mexican Constitution of 1917, that is to say, May 1 of that year. The oil companies had never questioned the right of the Mexican Government to embark on an economic policy such as is involved in the nationalization of all national resources; nor have they inquired into the wisdom of the manifestly anti-foreign and anti-capitalistic ideas with which the Government of Mexico is at present permeated; their attitude is conciliatory in the extreme as evidenced by the studious efforts to reach a fair adjustment. To this end, they have spent ten months in close negotiation with the Mexican Government. In addition to the official assurances given the American Government that Article 27 would not be given a retroactive effect, the Mexican representative in the negotiation, a former Minister of Commerce, Industry, and Labor, after repeatedly deploring the radicalism of Article 27, has now admitted that Article 14 should be construed as controlling Article 27—a solution which, if effectively applied, would satisfy the oil companies and work substantial justice.

But, as has been admirably said, "the questions involved are not merely Mexican questions, nor are they oil questions. They are simply the old fundamental ones of right and wrong." And so, above the considerations of municipal law and above the principles of the law of nations, the issue stands out clearly as one of simple justice and fair dealing.

IRA JEWELL WILLIAMS

Philadelphia, February 10

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is a pleasure to read Mr. Williams's dispassionate handling of the thorny questions involved in my article on Mexican oil, but although his courtesy makes it hard to disagree with him, his ingenious arguments do not affect my opinion.

First of all, let me correct the misapprehension into which Mr. Williams appears to have fallen regarding my historical summary of the legal situation. Previous to 1883, when the first Federal Mining Code was promulgated, the prevailing opinion was that coal, at least, belonged to the public, not to the owner of the soil. In 1866 the Federal Department of Justice so decided, and this appears to have been the assumption during the debate on the new Mining Code in the Mexican Congress.

Coming to the main arguments, I cannot agree with Mr. Williams that the Mexican Constitution of 1917 is a nullity. The United States and other foreign Governments have recognized the Carranza Government elected under it and expressly proposing to rule under it. Mr. Williams states that the American Ambassador expressly requested assurance as to the meaning of the Articles under dispute in this very matter, showing clearly that he regarded the Constitution as a very real instrument.

The Constitution is being applied in Mexico by courts, legislature, and executive as the fundamental law; and while it, with the Government which it represents, may be overthrown by a new revolution, it certainly gives every appearance of being in effect, both in domestic and foreign affairs.

A more interesting point is that made in regard to the effect of Article 14 on Article 27. As my article shows, I had the matter in mind when I was writing, and tried to apply to the problem presented the very canons of criticism which Mr. Williams so clearly lays down, subject, however, to the further canon that the will of the legislator is to be the determining factor. That that will was exactly expressed in Article 27, and included all oil on either publicly or privately owned lands, I tried to show from the opinion of the draughtsman of the Article and contemporary Governmental interpretation. I cannot admit that the "judgment" of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, cited by Mr. Williams, could override the authorities I quoted or the persistent course of the Carranza Government in its decrees.

It is rather exaggerated to say that Article 14 becomes a nullity if it is not permitted practically to nullify Article 27, since it will continue to rule the action of Congress and the President in their lawmaking capacities, except in so far as the Constitution, either now or as amended, provides otherwise. Article 27, on the other hand, so far as it relates to oil lands, does become a practical nullity if Article 14 is to be given the force Mr. Williams seeks to attach to it, since oil lands, so far as known, are practically all in private hands.

If Mr. Williams means, in his appeal to international law, to imply that there is an international law which will override the fundamental law of Mexico in regard to land ownership, so that, where a foreigner is affected, that international law and not the Mexican law will determine his rights or his title, I cannot follow him. If he means, as I presume he does, that the United States may protect against what it regards as spoliation of its citizens and demand damages, I have no disagreement with him. In fact, I noted that the United States had protested and that an arrangement in accord with the Constitution seemed possible.

The assurance given by the Foreign Minister to our Ambassador, as quoted by Mr. Williams, may create a very serious complication between the Governments, but it cannot create rights in real estate forbidden by the fundamental law.

J. P. CHAMBERLAIN

New York, March 7

[Mr. Williams's statement in regard to the assurance which is said to have been given by the Mexican Government to the American Ambassador as to the interpretation of Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution is an important, and apparently new, allegation of fact. It has, we believe, been understood that the Ambassador, before presenting his credentials, requested an assurance that property rights would be respected; but at the time when the credentials were presented to the "de facto" Government the Government under the Constitution did not, of course, exist.—ED. NATION.]

Documents

The Programme of the Spartacans

THE following text of the official programme of the Spartacus Society of Germany is translated from the Stockholm *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, the organ of the Swedish Left-Socialists, of January 2.

I.

Immediate measures and steps to guarantee the safety of the revolution:

1. The disarming of all policemen and officers, as well as of all soldiers, who do not belong to the proletariat.
2. The confiscation of all supplies of arms and munitions and all munition works by the workmen's and soldiers' councils.
3. The arming of the whole male population of the proletariat to form a workmen's militia. The organization of a red guard within this militia as its active body, for the protection of the revolution against all counter-revolutionary plots and conspiracies.
4. The abolition of all power of command hitherto vested in officers and non-commissioned officers, military authority to be supplanted by the voluntary discipline of the soldiers. The election of officers by the men with the right of recall. The repeal of military law.
5. The expulsion of officers and all untrustworthy persons from the soldiers' council.
6. The replacing of all political agents and Government officials by representatives from the workmen's and soldiers' councils.
7. The establishment of a revolutionary tribunal before which those chiefly responsible for the war shall be tried: the Hohenzollerns, Ludendorff, Hindenburg, von Tirpitz, and their fellow-criminals, as well as all the conspirators of the counter-revolution.
8. Immediate confiscation of all food, so as to guarantee the necessities of life to the people.

II.

Political and social measures:

1. The abolition of all separate states, and the formation of a single united Socialist republic.
2. The abolition of all Parliaments and all communal bodies and the taking over of their functions by workmen's and soldiers' councils and by their agents and committees.
3. The election of workmen's councils throughout Germany by all adult persons, men and women, in the laboring class of the cities and the country, within the separate trades; also the election of soldiers' councils by the men, exclusive of officers and untrustworthy persons. The right of workmen and soldiers to recall their representatives at any time.
4. The election of delegates from the workmen's and soldiers' councils throughout the country to form a central council, which shall choose an executive council invested with all authority, both legislative and administrative. The central council is to meet, for the present, every three months, subject to new elections of delegates for each session. It shall exercise permanent control over the activity of the executive council and shall keep the various workmen's and soldiers' councils constantly in touch with their highest Government organ. The local councils shall have the right to recall their delegates to the central council at any time when they do not carry out the will of their electors, and to fill their places with others.
5. The right of appointing and deposing all Government officials to be vested in the executive council.
6. The abolition of all class distinctions, orders, and titles.
7. Far-reaching social legislation. The shortening of the working day to six hours at the most, in order to decrease unemployment, and in consideration of the physical degeneration which the laboring classes have suffered through the world war.

8. A speedy and thorough reorganization of the departments of rationing, housing, sanitation, and education in the spirit of the proletarian revolution.

III.

The following administrative measures:

1. The confiscation of all dynastic property and income and the handing of it over to the community.
2. The repudiation of all public debts and war loans, with the exception of subscriptions up to a certain amount, this amount to be fixed by the central council.
3. The expropriation of large and medium-sized estates and the establishment of Socialist agricultural societies under a unified control for the whole country. Smaller agricultural holdings to remain in the hands of the present owners until such time as they shall voluntarily come into the Socialist community.
4. The liquidation of all banks, mines, factories, and large business concerns by the republic.
5. The confiscation of all property beyond a certain maximum, which shall be fixed by the central council.
6. The management of all public trade by the republic.
7. The election of councils within each trade, which shall cooperate with the workmen's councils and manage all internal affairs of their respective trades, including labor conditions and regulation of production, and shall finally take over the practical conduct of the business.
8. The appointment of a strike committee which is to cooperate with the trade councils in guiding the strike movement throughout the country in a Socialist direction, and, through the political power of the workmen's and soldiers' councils, assure it of success.

IV.

International tasks:

As soon as possible, connections shall be made with our brother-parties in foreign countries, so that the Socialist revolution may be put on an international footing, and through international fraternization and the uprising of the proletariat peace may be established and assured.

This is what the Spartacus Society wants. And because we want it, because we are the Socialist conscience of the revolution, therefore we are hated and persecuted and maligned by all open and secret enemies of the revolution and the proletariat.

Crucify them! cry the capitalists who tremble for their money-chests.

Crucify them! cry the middle-class citizens, the officers, the anti-Semites, and the press lackeys of the bourgeois press, who tremble around the flesh-pots of the bourgeois class power.

Crucify them! cry the Scheidemanns who, like Judas Iscariot, have sold the workmen to the bourgeoisie in order to keep their political power.

Crucify them! comes the echo even from those deceived and befuddled workmen who do not know that they are fighting their own flesh and blood when they rage against the Spartacus Society.

In hating and maligning the Spartacus Society they can all unite—counter-revolutionists, enemies of the people, anti-Socialists, liars, and those who fear the light. But this only shows that the future belongs to those in whose breast the revolution still lives.

The Spartacus Society does not want to attain power over or through the masses of the working people. The Spartacus Society is only that part of the proletariat which is conscious of its goal and attempts to wake up the broad masses to a realization of their historic task, which at every stage of the revolution represents the ultimate aim of the Socialists and the solution of national problems in the interests of the proletarian world revolution.

The Spartacus Society refuses to share its power with the servants of the bourgeoisie, Ebert and Scheidemann, because it sees in such coöperation nothing but treachery to the essential principles of Socialism, strengthening of the counter-revolution, and paralyzing of the revolution.

The Spartacus Society will never take over the power of government except at the behest of the great mass of the proletariat, nor unless the masses clearly express their allegiance to its goal and methods.

The proletarian revolution can only progress step by step on its Golgotha path, and can only win full clearness and maturity through bitter experiences and through many defeats and victories.

The triumph of the Spartacus Society belongs, not to the beginning, but to the end of the revolution. It is identical with the triumph of the millions of the proletarian mass.

Up, proletarians! Arise to battle! You are about to conquer a world and to fight against a world. In this last great class war for the highest goal of humanity, our motto must be: thumb in eye and knee on breast!

(Signed) THE SPARTACUS SOCIETY

A Financial Society of Nations

THE following proposal, looking to the creation of a financial society of nations for the joint assumption of war debts, was laid before the French Chamber of Deputies on December 3. The proposal was signed by Jacques Stern and nearly 100 other deputies. The text is here reprinted from the *Journal Officiel* of January 7. A long letter on the subject by M. Stern was published in the *Paris Temps* of December 22.

The war has raised questions of unexampled complexity. When the representatives of the Allied Powers have regulated territorial and economic questions in the peace preliminaries, they will then have to strike a balance and endeavor to solve the financial problem.

The economic progress of the whole world depends upon a solution which shall revive credit; without credit, no human activity.

The economists have already prepared statistics. According to Edmond Théry, the bill to be paid amounted on December 31, 1917, to 633,100 million, made up on the part of the Allies as follows, in millions of francs:

United States	34,840
Great Britain	136,500
France	101,920
Russia	92,040
Italy	30,420
Belgium, Serbia, Rumania, Portugal.....	28,600

424,320

For the Central Powers, 208,780 millions of francs.

In a more recent study the *Société de Banque Suisse* arrived at different conclusions. It calculated that during forty-eight months of war (August, 1914-July, 1918) the belligerents had spent 875 billions—the Allies 585 billions and the enemy countries 290 billions—of which 680 billions are covered by consolidated or short term loans.

However this may be, these 875 billions represent merely war expenses, from which are to be deducted the corresponding receipts from taxation—about 100 billions.

The new annual budget charge would amount to 46,625 millions (28,490 millions for the Allies, 14,135 millions for the enemy) if the average rate of interest is reckoned at 5 per cent., and the necessary premium for the amortization of a debt of 775 milliards in fifty years at one-half of one per cent.

The population of the Allied countries in 1914 amounted to 460 millions, that of the enemy countries to 45,520,000; their budget expenses to 32,596 million and 9,346 million francs respectively; while the annual burden of public debts exceeded, on the one side, 4,245 millions, and on the other 2,370 millions.

The total charges would therefore be doubled, and would represent 3.43 per cent. of the entire public wealth which M.

Raoul Péret, president of the budget commission, in an interesting study which appeared in 1917, estimated at a capital value of 2,557 billions.

As a set-off to these figures there must first be noted the amount of damages, the principle for the determination of which has been defined in the terms of the armistice, and the burden of which our enemies have accepted without discussion. The injuries suffered by the civil population on land, at sea, and in the air include, it is to be remembered, the disadvantage brought upon families by the loss or mutilation of some of their members—an injury which justifies the payment of a pension or of a temporary or renewable allowance.

Independently of this payment, however, which provisionally may be assigned a capital value of 100 billions, how shall the 28,490 millions which henceforth would be a yearly charge on the budgets of the Allied nations be apportioned?

I know very well that patriots reason as follows: Germany and her Allies, being responsible for the war, should bear all its moral and material consequences (42,625 millions of annual expense). If this reasoning appears to us faultless in principle, its application unquestionably presents very serious difficulties. The public revenues of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey did not amount to 70 billion francs in 1914. What have they become in terms of the dollar, pound sterling, or franc, in the present condition of their depreciated currencies?

Without waiting for a complete satisfaction of justice, let us begin with a distribution of comparative justice and mutual assurance.

Our war charges (28,490 millions) ought to be divided among the Allies in proportion to their respective populations. The penalty imposed upon the enemy should consist, first, in complete reparation for injuries, provisionally fixed at 100 billions.

A financial society of nations should be created which should take charge of the war expenses of the Allies, estimated at 518 billions.

The task is complex. In the first place, there must be discrimination between the ordinary budget expenses of each state and the extraordinary expenses arising from participation in the international struggle. In the future each nation will be free to determine the expenses pertaining to its internal administration, its pre-war debt, and political and social reforms necessary to its development.

As for war expenses, that is another matter. How will the financial society of nations regulate itself? By the creation of a national issue [of securities], the interest and amortization of which would be guaranteed by each state according to its quota (the associated States mutually guaranteeing the total of the annual amount, or 28,490 millions); each share being stated respectively in dollars, pounds sterling, francs, rubles, etc.; each division of the international loan being negotiable only in the country to which it belongs.

Each associate, that is to say, each state, will receive a share of the certificates equal to its actual disbursements, will distribute them among its various creditors, and will be responsible to the group for an annual contribution proportioned to its population. This yearly amount will be guaranteed to the group by a pledge (customs, monopolies, railways), the administration of which would be surrendered by any state which failed in its engagements.

Our enemies would certainly ask to share in the benefits of a system which, with its mechanism and the extent of its resources, is the only thing that can reestablish sound money and the credit of each associate. This problem is submitted to the judgment of the Allied Governments, which alone will be in a position to decide under what conditions and guarantees the enemy, after the terrible crimes that have been committed, may be admitted to membership in the financial society of nations.

As for us, it is enough to consider the financial consequences which would flow from an apportionment among the Allies of a yearly account of 28,490 millions, and of a capital debt of not less than 518 billions.

The peoples who voluntarily entered the war—the United

States, France, European Russia, Great Britain and its Dominions, Italy, Belgium, Japan, Serbia, Rumania, Portugal, and Greece—had, in 1914, 460,500,000 inhabitants.

The distribution would, then, give a per capita burden of 1,126 francs; the corresponding yearly amount, calculated at 5½ per cent., would come to 61.93 francs. If we apply the schedule thus fixed to each of the nations concerned, we arrive at the determination of the yearly amount due by each of them to the society whose function it would be to assure the payment of interest among the Allies and the amortization of the international debt:

United States	6,316,860,000
Great Britain	2,827,909,590
France	2,452,551,860
European Russia	8,670,200,000
Italy	2,291,410,000
Japan	3,325,393,280
Belgium	468,810,000
Serbia	288,284,150
Rumania	465,032,370
Portugal	346,560,280
Canada	461,254,640
Australia and New Zealand.....	285,559,230
Greece	162,999,760

If the enemy nations were to make an analogous distribution among themselves, their new annual charges would be respectively as follows:

Germany	6,587,063,400
Austria-Hungary	5,051,280,000
Turkey	2,039,940,000
Bulgaria	457,529,400

To this would be added 5,500,000,000 if the complete reparation of damages exacted by the Allies is provisionally calculated at 100 billions.

In order to enter the financial society of nations, Serbia, Rumania, Portugal, and Greece, whose finances and taxable resources are hardly comparable to those of the United States, France, England, Italy, Belgium, Japan, or Russia, would ask to be assisted in their task. It will therefore be necessary to take into account, in the total apportionment of the undertaking, equitable considerations which will not destroy the equilibrium of the operation.

An international commission composed of all the associated Powers, each with representatives of its treasury among others, would proceed to the payment of obligations, interest, and the semi-annual instalments of the debt.

In case of default it would take charge of the administration of what was pledged as a guarantee to the financial society of nations, as is done by the Commission of the Public Debt at the Sublime Porte.

The society would proceed to emit partial issues as the repayment by each of the states of the sums advanced by the banks of issue may give occasion, or to all other analogous operations. It would thus reestablish sound money and contribute to the solution of the problem of the high cost of living. It would be able to centralize for its members all questions of exchange or compensation, freights, and supply of raw materials. It would consider the requests of neutral states which might wish to take part in the financial society of nations, and fix the conditions on which they might be admitted.

No nation, not even Russia, would wish to remain outside of a social arrangement the advantages of which are too obvious to be pressed.

If the Allies agree to apportion equitably among themselves such general expenses of the war as shall not have been borne by the enemy, they will speedily reestablish in the world the essential condition for a resumption of economic life, namely, credit.

It is under these conditions that, noting the terms of the armistice which impose upon the enemy complete reparation for

all injury done, we submit for the approval of the Assembly, with a request for immediate discussion, the following resolution:

Proposed Resolution

The Chamber requests the Government to secure an agreement among the Allied Powers, by which the charges occasioned by the war may be apportioned among them by a financial society of nations, in proportion to their respective populations and their ability to pay.

The Case of the Ukraine

THE note of the Ukrainian Secretariat of State which follows, addressed to the Allied Governments, is translated from the weekly bulletin *L'Ukraine* (Lausanne) of March 13. The note is dated at Stanislaviv, March 5, and signed by Dr. Holoubovitch, president of the Secretariat.

The Secretariat of the People's Republic of Ukrainia (Western Territory) at Stanislaviv has the honor to communicate the following note to the Governments of France, England, America, Italy, and their Allies, and also to the Governments of the entire world.

Since November 1, 1918, we have been at war with the Government of Poland, which wishes to dominate our territory and annex it. Since then the Polish army has been able to make very little progress. Only the narrow strip of land which extends along the railway line from Peremyschl to the capital of our country, Lemberg, is under their control, and even this is constantly under our fire; while the city of Lemberg is surrounded by our troops on all sides. On February 22, when our operations were developing very favorably for us regarding the recapture of Lemberg, a mission of the Entente Powers, composed of Messrs. Carton de Viart for England, Barthélemy for France, Professor Lord for the United States, and Stabile for Italy, was sent to Lemberg by the plenipotentiaries in Warsaw in order to stop the military activities on the Polish-Ukrainian frontier, and presented itself to the commander of our army.

The mission stated that they wished to offer to us and to the Poles an armistice proposal, and asked for a temporary suspension of hostilities, adding that if we refused this request they would consider this act as a rupture of all relations with the Entente. Although the armistice was bound to be unfavorable to us, we accepted it in view of the favorable state of our operations in the hope that a fair decision of the mission would make an end of the war forced upon us by the Poles.

The truce began at six o'clock on the morning of February 25, the same day that our delegation for the consideration and conclusion of an armistice arrived at Lemberg. On the 26th a conference between the Entente mission and our representatives was held at Lemberg. On the 27th the mission left for general headquarters of our military command, where another conference was held with the president of the Directory of the Ukrainian Republic and Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian army, Petlura, with the President of the National Council of the Western Territories of the Republic, Dr. Petrouchevitch, and the Secretary of State, Dr. Holoubovitch. On February 28 the Entente mission presented to our delegation at Lemberg the draft of a treaty of peace and asked for a reply by March 5. This draft established the following line of demarcation: from the old Russo-Galician frontier along the Bug River to the mouth of the river which runs close to the Wolakeia Zenica; thence along this river to the railway bridge at Cholojiv Kaninka Stroumilova; thence along that railway to the Bug bridge, along that river to the boundary line of the districts of Kaminka and Solkiv; thence along the boundary line of the districts Kaminka and Lemberg, Lemberg and Peremischlany to the railway line of Lemberg-Peremischlany, along the boundary line of the districts of Peremischlany and Bibrika to the village of Solowa. This village belongs to the Ukrainians, that of Mikolaïiv to the Poles. Thence along the Biala River to the village

of Sokolivka (Ukrainian), along the Okolivka River to the railway at Vybranivka (the station and the village of Vybranivka belong to the Poles); then along the Vybranivka tramway line, the village of Huta Streletzka (to the Ukrainians); and thence along the southern boundary line of the district of Drohobytch and Tourka.

Considering that this plan would abandon to the Poles a large part of the Ukrainian territory, and that it could not without further discussion form the basis of a treaty, our military commander denounced the truce; in any case, for strategic reasons he would not have approved a further prolongation. Thereupon the Entente mission on March 1 addressed to us an ultimatum, informing us that if we recommenced military operations all negotiations for the conclusion of an armistice would be suspended, and adding that the Ukrainian authorities would have to bear all the responsibility before the four representatives of the Great Powers of the Entente for the continuation of the war which the Entente had ordered stopped.

In view of the attitude of the mission as it has been described in the foregoing, the Secretariat of the Western Territories of the Ukrainian Republic, in agreement with the Directory of the Ukrainian Republic, has the honor to complain and protest against the above treatment to the Governments of France, England, the United States, and Italy. The Allied mission in Lemberg has obtained its information relative to the question under discussion only from the Poles in Warsaw and Lemberg. In spite of our repeated requests it has not deemed it necessary to appear before our Government even for a short time in order to inform itself at first hand regarding the situation. Before the mission had reached a decision, the Polish press had represented the matter in such a manner as to give the impression that the mission had come only to impose upon the Ukrainians compliance with Polish aspirations and demands. In the course of deliberations with the mission our delegation has had opportunities to convince itself that these statements proceeded from a Polish source and were absolutely hostile to us. That is why the line of demarcation fixed by the mission does not correspond to the military situation, but meets entirely the wishes of the Poles. While the true front extends along the San from north to south and only the strip of territory mentioned, to the east of Peremyschl, in the direction of Lemberg, is the theatre of fighting, the proposed line of demarcation is drawn to the east around Lemberg and gives over to the Poles vast Ukrainian territories which are actually in the possession of our troops. This line of demarcation corresponds to the predictions of the Poles, who had stated that they would receive Ukrainian territories as far as the line of the Bug and the Stryz, in order to secure for themselves the possession of Lemberg and the rich petroleum lands of Boryslav. The Entente mission has acceded to these vast pretensions of the Poles and has ordered us to cede to the Poles without resistance the larger part of eastern Ukrainian Galicia with Lemberg and Drohobytch. On the basis of this arrangement more than half of our territory and of our countrymen would have to pass under the domination of the Polish authorities of occupation, who have already shown themselves most brutal in the treatment of the Ukrainian population. Proceeding in such a manner, our young state would be robbed of a great part of its sources of revenue and consequently of the economic basis of its existence. It would also become impossible to keep a strong army, so necessary in the European interest for safeguarding the eastern frontiers of the Ukrainian Republic, and in general to meet the requirements and obligations resulting from the deliberations of the Directory with the Entente representatives at Odessa.

By this arrangement the Lemberg mission has violated the principle of the right of free determination and has taken sides with the Polish imperialists, thus awakening the distrust of our peasant population with regard to the intentions of the Entente Powers and the principle of justice and equity proclaimed by the Allies. In the name of this principle we protest against the decision taken by the mission. We protest particularly

against the declaration of the Lemberg mission, rendered almost in the form of an ultimatum, according to which we would have to bear the responsibility before the Entente Powers for the continuance of the war. We are forced to fight the Poles for the defence of our country, but we wish to live in peace and good understanding with the Powers of the Entente, and we expect their aid against the Polish invasion. For this reason we ask the Governments of France, England, Italy, and the United States to send another mission to our country, one that will not be under Polish influence and which will undertake to make an impartial inquiry into the situation. We are disposed to end at any moment the war against the Poles, but only on the basis of a just arrangement which will free our territory from the Polish invasion.

A Memorial on Palestine

THE following Memorial is an abridgment of the memorandum submitted by the Zionist delegation to the Peace Conference on the occasion of its appearance before the Supreme Council on February 27. The Memorial is signed by Julian W. Mack, Louis Marshall, and Stephen S. Wise, and Bernard G. Richards, secretary.

As representatives of the delegates elected at the American Jewish Congress, held in Philadelphia, December 18, 1918, we respectfully ask that the Peace Conference recognize the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine; that such action be taken by the Conference as shall vest the sovereign possession of Palestine in such League of Nations as may be formed, and that the Government thereof be entrusted to Great Britain as the mandatory or trustee of the League.

Under this mandate or trusteeship, Palestine should be placed under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment there of a Jewish national home, and will ultimately render possible the creation of an autonomous commonwealth, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; that there shall be forever the fullest freedom of religious worship for all creeds in Palestine, and that there shall be no discrimination among the inhabitants with regard to citizenship and civil rights on the ground of religion or of race.

The Historic Basis for These Claims

Palestine is the historic home of the Jews. There they achieved their greatest development. From that centre, through their agency, there emanated spiritual and moral influences of supreme value to mankind. By violence they were driven from Palestine, and through the ages large numbers of them never ceased to cherish the longing and hope of return.

Palestine is not large enough to contain more than a part of the Jews of the world. The greater portion of the fourteen millions or more scattered through all countries must remain where they now abide, and it will doubtless be one of the cares of the Peace Conference, as we have already urged upon you, to ensure for them wherever they have been oppressed, as for all peoples, equal rights. Such a Palestine would be of value to the world at large, whose happiness is in large measure derived from the healthy diversities of its civilization.

The land itself needs rehabilitation. Its present condition is a standing reproach. Two things are necessary for its reconstruction: a stable and enlightened Government and an addition to the present population of energetic and intelligent men and women, devoted to the country, and supported by such resources as are indispensable to development. Such a population the Jews alone, it is believed, could supply.

Inspired by these convictions, Jewish activities during the last thirty years have operated in Palestine to the extent permitted

by the Turkish administrative system. Large sums have been expended in the establishment of Jewish agricultural settlements, which have for the most part proved highly successful. With commendable enterprise the Jews have adopted modern scientific methods and have proven themselves to be capable agriculturists. Hebrew has been revived as a living language. It is the medium of instruction in the schools, and is in daily use. A Jewish university has been founded at Jerusalem, and funds have been pledged for its creation and support. For the further development of the country, large sums will be required for drainage, irrigation, the building of highways, railways, harbors, and public works of all kinds.

The Action of the British and Other Governments

The historic title of the Jews to Palestine was recognized by the British Government in its declaration of November 2, 1917, addressed by the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to Lord Rothschild, as follows:

"His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

The Governments of France and Italy have declared their approval of this declaration. You, Mr. President, have expressed your sympathy with the spirit of the British declaration, and among others the Governments of Japan, Greece, Serbia, and China have added their approval.

Great Britain as Trustee

The resolutions of the American Jewish Congress have asked that Great Britain act as mandatory or trustee of the League of Nations for Palestine. Its selection as such mandatory or trustee is urged on the ground of the desire of the Jews, due to the peculiar relationship of England to the Jewish Palestinian problem. The return of the Jews to Zion has not only been a remarkable feature in English literature, but in the domain of statecraft it has played its part, beginning with the readmission of the Jews under Cromwell. It manifested itself particularly in the 19th century in the instructions given to British consular representatives in the Orient after the Damascus incident; in the various Jewish Palestinian projects suggested by English non-Jews prior to 1881; in the letters of endorsement and support given by members of the royal family and officers of the Government to Laurence Oliphant; and, finally, in the three consecutive acts which definitely associated Great Britain with Zionism in the minds of the Jews, viz., the El Arish offer in 1901; the East African offer in 1903; and, lastly, the British declaration in favor of a Jewish national home in Palestine in 1917. Moreover, the Jews who have gained political experience in many lands under a great variety of governmental systems, wholeheartedly appreciate the advanced and liberal policies adopted by Great Britain in her modern colonial administration.

The Terms of Trusteeship

In connection with the Government to be established by the mandatory or trustee of the League of Nations until such time as the people of Palestine shall be prepared to undertake the establishment of a representative and responsible Government, the following terms are deemed important:

1. In any instrument establishing the Constitution of Palestine, the declaration of the Peace Conference shall be recited as forming an integral part of such Constitution.

2. The Jewish people shall be entitled to fair representation in the executive and legislative bodies and in the selection of public and civil servants.

3. In encouraging the self-government of localities, the mandatory or trustee shall secure the maintenance by local communities of proper standards of administration in matters of education and communal or regional activities. In granting or en-

larging autonomy, regard shall be had to the readiness and ability of the community to attain such standards. Local autonomous communities shall be empowered and encouraged to combine and coöperate for common purposes.

4. Assistance shall be rendered from the public funds for the education of the inhabitants without distinction of race or creed. Hebrew shall be one of the official languages and shall be employed in all documents, decrees, and announcements issued by the Government.

5. The Jewish Sabbath and Holy Days shall be recognized as legal days of rest.

6. The established rights of the present population shall be equitably safeguarded.

7. All inhabitants of Palestine who, on a date to be specified, shall have their domicile therein, except those who, within a period to be stated, shall in writing elect to retain their citizenship in any other country, shall be citizens of Palestine, and they and all persons born in Palestine or naturalized under its laws after the day named shall be citizens thereof and entitled to the protection of the mandatory or trustee.

We are confident, Mr. President, that in common with the representatives of the Allied Governments you will lend to these aspirations the powerful support which through you the American people is ready to exert at this historic moment.

The Chinese Question

THE following statement was read to the foreign press representatives in Paris at a tea given in their honor by the Chinese delegation to the Peace Conference, on March 4.

1. THE CHINESE QUESTION

There are a few great problems that the Peace Conference must solve if the affairs of nations are to be settled in a sense preventing or minimizing the chances of war in the future.

Not the least vital of these problems is the group of issues known generally as the Far Eastern question, and more specifically as the Chinese question.

Stripped of its minor features, the Chinese question may be said to centre on the maintenance of the independence and integrity of China, which has been guaranteed in a series of conventions and agreements concluded severally by Great Britain, France, Russia, and the United States with Japan.

The necessity of these international guarantees springs from the inability of China to prevent assaults on her sovereignty, owing largely to the weakness marking the transition of a state in the throes of readjusting its life to the demands of a new environment. In the course of a continuous national life of nearly 5,000 years, China developed a policy that secured her administrative efficiency and political strength before she was brought within the orbit of the West through an unfortunate series of wars.

2. CHINA'S SURVIVAL AS A NATION

It is obvious that to survive as an independent nation, China must succeed in adapting her life to the new environment created by foreign pressure and intercourse. She has been trying to do so; and not improbably she might have made greater progress in this direction if, like Japan, she had been a poor country with little to tempt the appetite of alien imperialism.

But China is a fat land, with a population bigger than that of Europe and a territory greater in extent and richer in mineral resources than all continental Europe. Rich in the things yielding greatness as a peace state, but poor as a war state owing to the disarray inevitable in her present transformation from a 5,000-year old state into a modern state, China has been and is still a prey to the kind of imperialism asserting itself in territorial aggrandizement and in the exaction of preferential rights, interests, and privileges in great Chinese regions like Shantung,

Manchuria, Mongolia, Fukien, and elsewhere in the rich mineral areas of the Yangtze valley.

3. THE MEANING OF KIAOCHOW

You see, therefore, that the solution of the Chinese question involves the liberation or release of China from the burdens and conditions imposed on her in the interests of an aggressive imperialism, and necessarily in conflict with her freedom to adapt herself to the new conditions of life set up by alien contact and intercourse. Within this category of burdens is included the system of imperialistic rights, interests, and privileges which Germany established in the province of Shantung in 1898 as compensation for the death of two German missionaries who were killed in the province. This German system is typically expressed in the leased territory of Kiaochow and in the trans-Shantung railway known as the Tsingtao-Chinan Railway, besides in mining and other "rights" in the province.

Kiaochow consists of a piece of territory around the Kiaochow Bay, lying off the north-eastern coast of Shantung. The most valuable section of Kiaochow lies partly in the port of Tsingtao, which Germany developed and fortified and made the terminus of the trans-Shantung railway, and partly in an area adjoining Tsingtao which Japan, since her reduction of Kiaochow, has developed and delimited for exclusive Japanese occupation. Kiaochow also had a strategic value for Germany, which used it as a *point d'appui* in connection with her policy of political and economic penetration in Shantung.

The trans-Shantung railway runs through the heart of Shantung, connecting the capital of the province, Chinan or Tsinan, with the port of Tsingtao. The railway dominates the entire province, and in the event of war its possession by an enemy would enable the latter to overrun not only Shantung but also the great province of Chih-li, in which Peking is situated.

This reference to Kiaochow and the trans-Shantung railway will assist you to realize the gravity of the present Japanese claim for the unconditional cession of the leased territory of Kiaochow, together with the railways and other rights possessed by Germany in respect of Shantung province; and the gravity of this claim will be further revealed to you when it is remembered that Shantung is greater in population and area than England. And as the home of Confucius, it is not only packed with rare historical memories, but is also sacred as the cradle of Chinese culture.

4. JAPAN'S TWENTY-ONE DEMANDS ON CHINA

But this Shantung claim is exceeded in meaning and seriousness by the twenty-one demands which Japan, suddenly and without provocation, and in a manner for which there was no precedent in the history of foreign relations with China, presented to China on January 18, 1915; this formidable array of demands being submitted personally under the gravest warning of silence by the Japanese Minister to the President of the Republic. It is within the common knowledge of the foreign chanceries that an incomplete edition of these demands was communicated by the Japanese Government to the other Powers, the section most menacing to China being excluded from this communication and its existence even denied. Treaties, declarations, and notes—based on those demands—China was compelled to sign on May 25, 1915, under pressure of a Japanese ultimatum edged with a threat of war.

On May 11, 1915, the American Government cabled an identical communication to the Chinese and Japanese Governments, reading: "In view of the circumstances of the negotiations which have taken place and which are now pending between the Government of China and the Government of Japan, and of the agreements which have been reached as a result thereof, the Government of the United States has the honor to notify the Government of the Chinese Republic that it cannot recognize any agreement or undertaking which has been entered into between the Governments of China and Japan impairing the treaty rights of the United States and its citizens in China, the political or territorial integrity of the Republic of China, or the interna-

tional policy relative to China commonly known as the 'open door' policy. An identical note has been transmitted to the Japanese Government."

British public opinion was also seriously perturbed by Japan's *démarche*, and found its expression in the words of a great public organ, that "a scheme of this kind, if carried through, would put all China under Japanese suzerainty. Of course it would also imperil extensive British commercial and industrial interests in China, and it would knock the bottom out of the Anglo-Japanese treaty, which guaranteed the integrity of China and equality of opportunity to all Powers."

5. HOW CHINA WAS PREVENTED FROM INTERVENING IN THE WAR IN 1914 AND 1915

As misleading statements have appeared and are still appearing in the public press depreciating China's war activities and efforts, it is necessary to state that in August, 1914, the Chinese Government expressed to the Allies its desire to declare war against Germany and to take part in the Anglo-Japanese operations against the German garrison in Tsingtao. The proposal was not pressed, owing to the intimation reaching the Chinese Government that the proposed Chinese participation was likely to create "complications" with a certain Power. Again, in November, 1915, it is an open secret that the Chinese Government was prepared to enter the war in association with the Allies, but the Japanese Government refused its assent to this help being given. As you all know, the Chinese Government sent a warning note to Germany on February 9, 1917, severed diplomatic relations with Germany on March 14, and declared war on Germany and Austria-Hungary on August 14, 1917.

In this connection it is of historical interest to make the following quotation from a dispatch written by M. Krupensky, the Russian Ambassador at Tokio, to his home Government, under date of February 8, 1917: "I never omit an opportunity of representing to the Minister for Foreign Affairs the desirability, in the interests of Japan herself, of China's intervention in the war, and only last week I had a conversation with him on the subject. Today I again pointed out to him that the present moment was particularly favorable, in view of the position taken by the United States and the proposal made by them to the neutral Powers to follow their example. On the other hand the Minister pointed out the necessity for him, in view of the attitude of Japanese public opinion on the subject, as well as with a view to safeguard Japan's position at the future Peace Conference, if China should be admitted to it, of securing the support of the Allied Powers to the desires of Japan in respect of Shantung and the Pacific islands. These desires are for the succession to all the rights and privileges hitherto possessed by Germany in the Shantung province, and for the acquisition of the islands to the north of the equator now occupied by the Japanese. Motono plainly told me that the Japanese Government would like to receive at once the promise of the Imperial (Russian) Government to support the above desires of Japan."

6. CHINA'S SERVICES AND OFFER OF MAN-POWER TO THE ALLIES.

This statement would be incomplete without a reference being made to the large contingent of Chinese workmen who labored for the Allies behind the battle lines in northern France. They eventually numbered 130,678. Not a few of them were either killed or wounded by enemy operations. In addition to these workers in France, a large number were employed in connection with the British operations in both Mesopotamia and German East Africa, and the crews of quite a considerable number of British ships were manned by Chinese sailors. There is a general admission that all these Chinese workers displayed qualities which easily ranked them above other classes of oversea labor.

Besides placing at the disposal of the Allied Governments nine steamers, which were greatly needed for the Chinese export trade, the Chinese Government offered to dispatch an army of 100,000 to reinforce the man-power of the Allied and the associated states in France. The offer was favorably entertained by the Inter-Allied Council at Paris, and the French Government

instructed their diplomatic representative at Washington to approach the American Government on the subject of arranging for the necessary tonnage for the transport of the men. Owing to lack of shipping facilities, the proposal eventually failed to materialize.

7. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Finally, we wish to say that China views the establishment of a League of Nations as a vital interest of a high order. A work of this sort will be a supreme expression of the intellectual and moral qualities of the modern mind; and there is little doubt but that it will be assessed by history as the biggest achievement, not of today, but of all time. And to us who come from far Asia, it will mean the continued independent existence of a nation with a continued life of myriad years. We were a nation long before modern Europe arose out of the ruins of old Rome. Founders of great creeds taught in our midst when tribal Europe was sacrificing to strange unknown gods. And we had art, letters, and morals before even Paris was founded.

We have known not a little greatness. And it may be that much of what has been lost may be regained by us under an international order in which we shall be free to live a life untrammelled and unthreatened by the type of state whose material greatness is based on war.

A Korean Appeal to America

THE following appeal of the Korean National Association "to the Christian Churches in America" is issued at San Francisco, and signed by C. H. Ahn, chairman of the Executive Council.

We, the representatives of Korea, in this hour of her dire need, issue to you, our fellow-Christians and citizens of the world's foremost Power, an appeal for justice and humanity.

In great trouble, after prayer to Almighty God, we have turned to you as our only refuge.

For ten years we have been oppressed by a militaristic and imperialistic Government. With no more right than Germany when she crushed Belgium under her heel and brought down upon herself the condemnation of Christendom, the Japanese Government has not only robbed us of national liberty, but has deprived us of those rights which are the heritage of every human being. It has deprived us of justice, of freedom of thought, of our language, of the right to educate our children according to our ideals, imposing upon us a system of education not only destructive of our national ideals, but imperilling the very foundations of the Christian religion.

They have also taken from us the sacred right of religious freedom. The Christians have been the repeated objects of brutal and nation-wide persecution and oppression, many having suffered imprisonment and barbarous and inhuman treatment without any just cause.

The story of the numerous outbursts of cruelty, of the wholesale slaughterings, of the systematic oppression which has employed every form of inhumanity, which has not only robbed our people of their very homes but has made it almost impossible for many to make a living, driving them to desperation and starvation, and of the cunning press which kept the truth from the world by flaunting in its eyes a story of material progress, is a tragic and pathetic tale which cries out before God and humanity.

At last our race has arisen and proclaimed to the world, in no mistaken terms, its desire for liberty and for freedom from oppression and unbearable tyranny. No force has been employed. The new movement in Korea which has attracted the attention of the world is no more than a legitimate and spontaneous expression of a national conviction.

But the Japanese have replied with force and brutality. The Christian church in Korea, especially, has become again the centre of a barbarous persecution. Christians have been made

to bear crosses in mockery of their religion, while the name of Christ has been subjected to infamy. A little girl who held up the proclamations of independence in her hands had her arms severed. Thousands have been imprisoned and tortured; thousands have been killed. Can the Christian church in America stand passively by without even raising a voice in protest?

The hour for Korea has struck, and the fate of Christ's kingdom in our country hangs in the balance, for even religion cannot withstand this fatal process of denationalization and deracination.

The great war has ushered in a new day for the human race. With ten millions of lives the world has bought freedom from autocracy and militarism. The right of self-determination has been declared universal. The world has been rejoicing over the incoming of a new era when international oppression and injustice are to be known no more, an era in which the rights of small nationalities are to be protected by a world League of Nations.

To you, citizens of that nation which has been the leader in this epoch-making movement, we appeal. Are the principles of the world's new League mere shibboleths, or are they joyous proclamations of a new day on earth? Do they apply only to Europe, or are they world-wide in their scope? Has the world defeated militarism and imperialism in Germany only to let it stalk its bloody and untrammelled course in the Far East? Surely not. And surely America will not, can not, stand by and let us suffer. At least the Christian churches of America will lift a voice in protest and in appeal that justice be done, and that those principles for which so many precious American lives were sacrificed shall become the heritage of the world, shall be operative not only in Europe but in the Far East, shall usher in for Korea, too, a new day of justice and freedom from oppression.

Dr. Gilbert Murray and Oxford University

DR. GILBERT MURRAY, Regius Professor of Greek in Oxford University, who was an unsuccessful Liberal candidate for a seat in the House of Commons, as a university member, at the general election in December, 1918, was again a candidate at a by-election late in February. The seat was won by Professor C. W. C. Oman, the Coalition Unionist candidate. The following address on behalf of Professor Murray's candidacy was signed by eight heads of Oxford colleges and thirty-four other members of the university.

At the time of the general election Professor Murray, while supporting the principle of a Coalition Government, expressed his fear that, at a time when the needs of the country called for an advanced democratic policy, the Coalition actually returned to Parliament would be unduly weighted on the conservative side. This anticipation has proved true, and it is in the belief that the electorate now realizes that its natural and proper support of the Government in power at the end of the war has resulted in a far more sweeping destruction of the liberal elements in the House of Commons than any real believer in the principle of coalition could desire, that Professor Murray has accepted our invitation to stand again as a candidate for the university.

His general attitude in politics is well known. He is a liberal with labor sympathies and a supporter of the war on the lines laid down by Mr. Asquith in 1914. His writings on the war, though none of them written to order, have almost all been taken up and circulated by one or other of the official propaganda Departments, while some have been translated into all European languages.

On foreign affairs he has worked steadily in support of the policy of Viscount Grey and its continuation and development by Lord Robert Cecil. In particular he has from early days, when

the idea was far from popular, been an energetic supporter of the League of Nations, and is at present chairman of the executive of the League of Nations Union. In 1915 and 1916 he visited Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and the United States to expound the cause of the Allies.

On industrial matters Professor Murray agrees absolutely with the policy indicated by the Prime Minister in his recent conference with the miners' delegates. While the community as a whole cannot and must not submit to coercion or the threat of coercion by any particular class, Professor Murray regards a great and far-reaching change in the position of the working classes and the poorer middle class as both necessary and entirely desirable, even if it involve some sacrifice both of pride and of comfort among the wealthier sections of society. Such a change, however, if it is not to lead to mere confusion, implies something more than a bold policy of social reconstruction. It cannot be achieved without, in the first place, a return to much stricter economy and sounder finance than were possible during the war, and, in the second place, a resolute continuance of that spirit of loyal coöperation and public duty in all classes which enabled our people to carry the war to victory.

As regards the European settlement Professor Murray believes that the greater danger of the immediate future lies, not in any conceivable renewal of hostilities by Germany, but in the possible collapse of ordered society in one nation of Europe after another. Consequently, while naturally the requirements of our own people and our Allies must be considered first, he regards the establishment of settled government, tolerable food conditions, and regular employment in central Europe as one of the prime needs of civilization.

Early in 1917, when Mr. Fisher became Minister for Education, Professor Murray was invited by him to take up work at the Board, and has from the beginning given a whole-hearted support to Mr. Fisher's policy. He believes that the time has come for thinking out and gradually building up a truly national system of education, based on the principle that education should not be the privilege of wealth, birth, or sex, but that every citizen should be regarded as having a right to as high a degree of education as he or she can healthfully assimilate.

At the head of such a system must stand the universities; and Professor Murray believes that, among the universities, Oxford is called upon to maintain amid changing conditions the same place which she has occupied in the past.

Professor Murray's own work has been chiefly concerned with the more advanced studies of the university, but he has given warm and consistent support to those movements of university reform with which, we believe, the majority of the residents are in sympathy. We may instance his efforts for the improvement of the university examinations, his practical interest in the Workers' Educational Association, and his support of the movement for granting degrees to women.

The ideals of education and study which this university has endeavored to maintain in the past have been an inspiration to many generations of a somewhat privileged and aristocratic society. Professor Murray believes that Oxford has now the opportunity, without in any way lowering those ideals, to perform for the many to whom university education will henceforth be accessible the same high service that she has hitherto performed for a comparatively restricted class.

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Foreign Press

The Claims of Italy

A 5,000-word *résumé* of the Memorandum read to the Peace Conference by Signor Barzilai on behalf of the Italian delegates was made public in Italian papers of March 12-13. The following summary of the *résumé*, published in the March 26 issue of the *Allied Press Supplement* to the *Review of the Foreign Press* (British War Office), is taken by the latter publication from the *Giornale d'Italia* of March 13.

The Memorandum begins by explaining that the Italian claims are based on justice and moderation, and fit absolutely into the framework of Wilson's fourteen points, which were the basis of the armistice. If a certain part of Italian public opinion would like to see them to some slight extent reduced, another part demands that they be considerably increased. Thus the claims accepted by the Italian delegation represent a compromise based on necessity and equity. True, the Italian claims imply adding to the Italian state a certain number of citizens of non-Italian language and origin, but this phenomenon is to be observed on a much larger scale in states already constituted, and in others which are now forming. The explanation of this fact is that in all previous settlements the principle of nationality was held in contempt, and the infiltration of foreign races beyond their natural frontiers was thereby encouraged. Such past wrongs cannot now be turned into the rights of the states which perpetrated them. On this point, the Memorandum quotes President Poincaré for the statement that the soul of a people cannot be destroyed, and that in a nation vital principles other than the national soil and even the law of language exist. It then proceeds to show that of all the claims put forward by European states, Italy claims the smallest percentage of foreign blood: 3 per cent. as against France's 4 per cent., Rumania's more than 17 per cent., Czecho-Slovakia's 30 per cent., and Poland's 40 per cent. Dangerous irredentism has, it proceeds to argue, only been created by injustice and persecution, and the precedents of Italian history show that nothing of this kind has happened with regard to the French, Slav, and German population already included in the Italian kingdom.

After these prefatory remarks, the Memorandum proceeds to state exactly what Italy does want. Italy went to war with two aims: the liberation of her oppressed sons, and the attainment of safe frontiers by land and sea. Victory has cost her much more than she expected, and she is therefore all the less likely to repudiate the principles which determined her intervention. The concrete application of these principles might be summed up as the Alpine frontier, which includes the Upper Adige, the Trentino, and Julian Venetia, and an improvement of her Adriatic position, which, without prejudicing the legitimate aspirations of the new state, will allow Italy to escape from the position of absolute inferiority and danger in which she finds herself.

Italy has no need to defend her purely ethnic claims. Her other claims aim at giving her future safety on exactly the same basis as the other Allied states, i. e., future safety independent of the present or future attitude of neighboring states. The foundations of the League of Nations will be all the more solid if the single nations are guaranteed against all external danger or oppression. What Italy claims in this connection threatens no one, but aims only at parrying the threats of others. Only in this way can Italy devote herself to realizing a reduction of armaments. After explaining that the Alpine frontier is the only boundary which provides a really adequate mountain barrier, the Memorandum declares that Italy must stretch as far as Bressanone, in order to prevent the Germans from again becoming masters of the Italian slopes. This reason is so strong that the inclusion in Italy of 180,000 German inhabitants ceases

to be of any importance. The Memorandum then explains the cultural links existing between the Upper Adige region and Italy. Moreover, the Trentino and the Upper Adige, taken together, have a 70 per cent. Italian population.

The Memorandum then proceeds to claim the watershed of the Julian Alps as far as the Quarnero. Here, again, geographers of all lands and ages have indicated this as the natural Italian frontier. The evidences of Roman and Venetian culture are everywhere, and despite foreign infiltration the population is mainly Italian in spirit and customs. After relating the story of Austrian persecution and Italian resistance in this region, the Memorandum continues: "Italian irredentism was born on the day on which the peace of '66 expiated only a part of the great political violation which was first perpetrated at Campoformio and then consecrated at the Congress of Vienna." In order to ensure European peace and Adriatic equilibrium it is necessary to complete the work interrupted in '66, by carrying the Italian frontier to the watershed of the Julian Alps, thereby closing Italy's eastern gate on the "habitual routes of the barbarians." Thus the principle proposed with regard to the Brenner frontier can also be applied to the Julian frontier.

Gorizia, Trieste, Fiume, Pola, the chief centres, are, the document continues, Italian not only by their past, but by the great majority of their present populations as set forth in Austro-Hungarian official statistics. The smaller towns are also Italian, as are the big rural centres, whose economic and cultural existence is completely bound up with that of the towns. These centres in the interior and on the coast dominate the moral and material life of the whole region. Thus the whole region ought to fall to Italy, not only for cultural reasons, but because of economic laws and for the benefit of the whole population without regard to nationality.

Even if questions of military safety and of necessary geographical compactness are left on one side, a compromise frontier, a frontier not based on clear topography, could not settle the race conflicts completely or have any economic solidity. The natural outlets of the (for that matter sparsely populated) mountain zones are the Venetian-Friulian plain and the Italian ports of Julian Venetia from Trieste to Fiume. If these zones, now inhabited by a majority of Slavs, belonged to any other state than Italy, they would become centres of an exasperated anti-Italian nationalism. They would inevitably push toward the sea and, helped by the Slav hinterlands, exercise an increasing pressure on the Italian frontier zones, thus keeping up a continual agitation and tension between the two neighbor states. The inclusion of the whole Cisalpine territory, together with its Slavs, far from creating a danger of Slav irredentism, is the one way of avoiding or of rendering harmless, and therefore of neutralizing at the outset, all Slav irredentism, which the irrational frontier would inflame under pressure of economic necessities. Given the indivisibility of these regions and the need for them to form, with the Alpine frontier, the eastern bulwark of Italy, the number of non-Italian inhabitants does not prejudice Italy's claim. In any case Julian Venetia forms a single whole with Venetia proper, and the two together have a population of 3,600,000, of which hardly more than 400,000 are Slav; while in Julian Venetia alone there are 482,000 Italians as against 411,000 Slavs. At this point, however, the Memorandum proceeds to deny the value of Austrian statistics. It then declares that in communes representing 70 per cent. of the population local government is in the hands of the Italians.

The Memorandum then turns to the Adriatic problem. The frontier of the Julian Alps, including Istria from Pola to Fiume in the kingdom, reduces but does not eliminate Italian Adriatic inferiority. This can only be eliminated by restoring to Italy an adequate part of Dalmatia. Conditions have changed, and Italy can now limit herself to demanding, not the absolute possession, but the freedom, of that sea; that is to say, she will not exclude a new Yugoslav state from possessing a part of the Adriatic coast, claiming for herself not more, but not less, than she needs to ensure her peace of mind and eliminate foreign menaces. The

Treaty of London gives to Italy 6,326 square kilometres of the total area of Dalmatia, which is 12,085 square kilometres, and 44 per cent. of the population of Dalmatia; while, of the whole coast from Fiume to the Boyana, Italy will only have one-sixth. That is to say that the Yugoslav state will have six times as much of the coast as Italy, and will have more than half of the population and half of the total area of Dalmatia and its islands. At this point the document attempts to destroy the Austrian statistics, according to which Dalmatia contains only 15,000 Italians as against 250,000 Slavs. This time the electoral results mean nothing. Moreover, even if historical right and national reality were otherwise, Italy could not for reasons of safety in the future renounce having a part of Dalmatia. Italy would be threatened from Dalmatia if the whole of it fell to another state, whereas Italy's claim to a part of Dalmatia threatens no one.

The Memorandum then claims the neutralization of the part of the coast and of the isles assigned to other Powers, including those stretches of the coast not neutralized by the Treaty of London, together with an absolute veto of all armaments on land and on sea.

The Memorandum then turns to the special question of Fiume. Russia's defection imposed on Italy a much greater burden than that stipulated in the Treaty of London. American intervention did nothing to relieve the pressure on Italy, whereas on the western front it more than compensated for Russian defection. Not only Trieste but Fiume must cease to function in favor of the indirect German domination of the Adriatic. If Fiume does not become Italian, it will be the one point of possible German infiltration on the Adriatic. Leaving on one side the damage to Trieste which would result from the competition of a Yugoslav Fiume, or of a Fiume not under Italian sovereignty, and to the economy of the hinterland, resulting from the inevitable attempt to deflect all of its trade to a non-Italian Fiume, it is necessary to insist on the anti-German part which Italy alone can play at Fiume—a part which can be played in such a way as to benefit the Croatian and Hungarian hinterland.

At this point the Memorandum insists on the natural aptitudes and the technical resources of a seafaring nation like Italy, which, by placing both Fiume and Trieste at the entire disposal of the hinterland, would conciliate in the best possible fashion her own interests with those of the commercial *clientèle* of the two ports. After detailing the concessions which Italy is ready to make in order to guarantee the trade interests of the hinterland at Fiume and Trieste, the Memorandum emphasizes the fact that these two ports have got to serve Germany, Austria, Bohemia, the Yugoslav countries, and Hungary, and that they will only be able to accomplish this difficult mission if entrusted to the one Power which is outside and above the political and economic competitions of all these states.

It is not true, the Memorandum proceeds to argue, that Croatia needs Fiume. Croatian trade in the port represented only 7 per cent., the remainder coming from other regions, and especially Hungary. The total trade of Slovenia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina in the port of Fiume hardly reached 13 per cent.; the remainder went towards the ports of Lower Dalmatia. The carrying trade of the port, now that it is no longer undertaken by companies subsidized by Hungary, could not be carried on by a new state which sent such a small part of its trade into Fiume. Here, again, Italy is the one Power capable of undertaking this mission—at first probably at a loss. Moreover, Trieste and Fiume will be able to work together, supplementing each other's services and rendering them more economical. Trieste could carry on without Fiume, but Fiume would be ruined if deprived of Italy's support.

The Memorandum then proceeds to explain why Fiume was given to Croatia in the Treaty of London. At that time the fall of the Hapsburg monarchy was not foreseen. It was, therefore, natural that to a population of 50,000,000 inhabitants one independent Adriatic port should be left, but Italy's decisive victory of 1918 has effectively destroyed this argument. Only by falsifying an *état de fait* which corresponds to an *état d'âme*, could Fiume be given to the new Yugoslav state. Besides Buccari

and Segna, Croatia—another fact unforeseen in the Treaty of London—has at her disposal other outlets in the lower Adriatic, outlets which it was thought would be reserved for Montenegro and Serbia.

[The Memorandum emphasizes Italy's efforts, and concludes:]

However, Italy foresaw the possibility of opposition on the part of comrades in arms to the execution of the agreements made, and for this reason proposed, with a moderation which was at that time much appreciated, a fair transaction [*i. e.*, a compromise] with regard to the points in dispute. The Italian Government, therefore, as it then stated in writing, put forward a minimum of claims in the Treaty of London, at the same time calling the attention of the new Allies to the possibility of an opposition, which has now taken on such grave forms.

On Making Germany Pay

M. R. J. L. GARVIN, editor of the *London Observer*, writes as follows in a long article on "The Paris Conference: the Last Phase," in the issue of March 23.

The worst of all perils was that the Jingoism in all the Allied countries might upset every hope of world peace and social peace in the future for the sake of money which they would never get. No political lunatic is now so distempered as to suppose that Germany can pay the whole cost of the war, or, for that purpose, can be kept in a state of tribute and serfage for fifty or a hundred years. Our principle has been that the major consideration must prevail—that indemnities must be compatible with the peace of the future and not quite incompatible with it. Our own computation has been that Germany in all probability cannot be made to pay more than a tenth of the whole cost of the war—say from £2,000,000,000 to £3,000,000,000. Even this would be colossal—from ten to fifteen times what was wrung from France in 1871.

We repeat with the strongest emphasis—and we shall give our reasons for it—that the time of payment ought not to extend beyond five years. Those Jacks who aspired to impossible schemes of super-indemnities are seen on all sides rapidly climbing down their precarious bean-stalks. They had proposed to take tribute for a hundred or for fifty years—to levy it not only on those Germans now in their uneasy cradles, but even on those who, being yet unborn, are no more responsible for the war than modern Unionists for the massacre of Drogheda. If we are to go on in the old way with evil for evil, we shall never be done—not unless all the nations bring their Chauvinists, especially the elderly ones, into rings, and compel them henceforward to eat each other for the consequences of their various policies, while younger folk look on. It is now suggested that if the Germans cannot be held down and exploited to the last pfennig for a generation they should be at least strapped up and squeezed for twelve years.

This by comparison with Bedlamite conceptions is a mild period. We are certain that it is too long unless we want to Bolshevize the Boche and the world. Twelve years would carry us beyond 1930. Before that time many things will undoubtedly happen disagreeable to the associates who are now at the top of their relative power and by no possibility can maintain the present extent of their relative predominance. The Germans will recover more or less in that time. Long before the end of that time a position will be reached where it would be impossible to remobilize the associated democracies as a debt-collecting agency, much less for the same purpose to mobilize the rest of the League of Nations against Germany. Five years would be in every way better. The Germans would have more inducement to hope and work and pay and keep Bolshevism down, and to act within the League as a stabilizing factor of a coherent civilization. For President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George above all—but it ought to be as true for M. Clemenceau and Signor Orlando as well—one principle must count. At the margin where pelf and peace come into conflict peace must have the benefit of the doubt.

Notes

A MOVEMENT is on foot in England to make prison reform an important feature in reconstruction. Interest has been aroused in the subject by the fact that, during the last ten years, so many thinking men and women have passed through British prisons on account of offences of a political character, and that nearly all of them, as the *Friend* reports, have come out with the conviction that a great deal needs to be done in order to bring something approaching a humane and Christian spirit into the prison and penal system. As there is little prospect of a Government inquiry, the Labor Research Department is taking the matter up, and has appointed a committee to investigate it. This Department is an association of persons whose object is to coöperate with the labor, Socialist, and coöperative movements "in promoting and carrying out research into problems of importance to labor." Among those who are joining the committee of inquiry are Lord Henry Cavendish-Bentinck, Percy Alden, Laurence Houseman, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, the Hon. Bertrand Russell, the Hon. George Peel, G. Bernard Shaw, and the Earl of Sandwich. Sir Sidney Olivier is to be chairman of the committee and Stephen Hobhouse its secretary.

A STUDY of mortality in Germany for the years 1914-1918, prepared by Professor Deissmann of Berlin, was recently analyzed in an article in the *Berner Tageblatt*. Professor Deissmann estimated the number of deaths due to hunger during the years named at 800,000. The number of German soldiers killed is approximately 1,800,000; so that for every nine soldiers killed there were four deaths among women, children, old people, and other non-combatants. At Berlin, during the first half of 1916, 7,468 females died, while the total deaths of females for the first half of 1917 was 9,495—an increase of 2,027. Children, like old people, have suffered most acutely from the blockade. While official figures have not yet been compiled, the following statistics for Berlin are offered as substantially correct: Since 1913 the mortality of Berlin children of from two to six years has almost doubled, that of children of from six to ten years has more than doubled, while the mortality of children of from ten to fourteen years has almost trebled. The mortality of tubercular children from the clinics of the municipal hospital of Charlottenburg-Westend, a city with unusual sanitary advantages, shows that deaths among children of from two to four years have increased from 21 per cent. before the war to 58 per cent. during the war; from five to six years the increase has been from 20 per cent. to 61.6 per cent.; from seven to ten years, from 7 per cent. to 40 per cent.; and from eleven to fourteen years, from 6 per cent. to 14 per cent.

AN interesting account of the occupations of the thirty women members of the German National Assembly at Weimar appears in a recent number of *L'Humanité* (Paris). The one woman elected by the conservative German National party is a member of the nobility, Fraulein Anna von Gierke. The Catholic party elected four women, two of whom are teachers, while one, Fraulein Zetler, is the secretary of a labor union at Munich, and one is without stated occupation. Of the five representatives of the Democratic party, three are teachers, one, Dr. Baumer, is a publicist, and the fifth, Fraulein Broenner, is clerk in a coöperative enterprise. Among the eighteen women elected by the Majority Socialists are eleven whose occupations are not indicated. Two others are secretaries of local Socialist organizations, and one, Fraulein Juchaez, elected from Berlin, is an official representative of the central executive of the party. One of the other Socialist delegates is a teacher, one is connected with a hospital, and two are journalists. The two women elected by the Minority Socialists are Agnes Lore, widely known as a Socialist agitator, and Luise Zietz, long associated with August Bebel in opposition to the revisionists.

BY decision of the military authorities of the Allied Governments, the Rhine has been opened for traffic with Switzerland, and shipments from the United States may now be forwarded to Switzerland by that route. The following countries and places with which, by reason of the blockade, trade was prohibited during the war, have since the signing of the armistice been opened for the resumption of trade by order of the War Trade Board: Siberia, Alsace-Lorraine, Palestine and Syria, Mesopotamia, Serbia and Rumania, the territory included in the line established by Article 3 of the military clause of the armistice protocol of November 3; Czecho-Slovakia, Bulgaria, Turkey and Black Sea ports, the German colonies, the occupied territory of Germany, Adriatic ports, Albania and Montenegro, Luxemburg, the territory adjacent to and dependent upon the Adriatic ports, including Albania, Montenegro, Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Dalmatia; Poland, Esthonia, and German Austria.

THE eleventh annual congress of the Spanish Socialist party, held recently at Madrid, formulated a general party programme which demanded, among other things, the abandonment of the Moroccan enterprise and the repatriation of all Spanish troops, the reduction of the army by fifty per cent., state ownership of land, and special education for the consular service. Resolutions were adopted greeting the republics of Germany, Austria, and Russia, and expressing the desire of the congress for an early reëstablishment of the Internationale.

AS a result of the separatist agitation carried on by the Swedish inhabitants of the Aaland archipelago and of the Swedish-speaking districts, Nyland and Österbotten, a petition has been introduced in the Finnish Diet requesting legislation to establish the legal status of the Finnish and Swedish languages. The petition suggests a division of the country into one-language and two-language districts. Even in the one-language districts, however, every inhabitant would have the right to use his own language for ordinary purposes and in addressing government officials. At the same time the Government requested the Ministry of Education to draw up a plan for increasing the number of dioceses in order to unite the Swedish-speaking parishes in a separate diocese, and to form a Swedish division of the Department of Education to deal with the Swedish schools.

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